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THE CIPPUS ABELLANUS

THE FOUNDATIONS OF ROMAN ITALY

by

JOSHUA WHATMOUGH

Professor of Comparative Philology in Harvard University

WITH 12 PLATES, 8 MAPS AND 148 TEXT ILLUSTRATIONS



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PREFACE

A REVIEWER of the *Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy*, writing in the *Times Literary Supplement* of September 6, 1934, said that "the first result to be hoped" from the publication of that work was "a renewal of the attempt to construct, at least in outline, a history of pre-Roman Italy" which would be "in harmony both with the testimony of written records and with that of the material remains". The present volume, which I venture to hope may be regarded as such a renewed attempt, for the student and the general reader, is based on materials collected in the course of a decade or more during which my chief interest, after my teaching duties, has been pre-Roman Italy; to that fascinating land I now bid a reluctant farewell.

The *Foundations of Roman Italy*, indeed, although repeatedly delayed until after the completion of the *Prae-Italic Dialects* (which was over four years in printing), was conceived during the visits to Italy and Sicily which I made for the purposes of my other book. At that time I seized the opportunity to study the archæological record of the tribes whose linguistic remains I was then engaged in collecting. The beginning of my interest in the subject goes back even further, to the lectures of Ridgeway and of Conway; far as I have long since advanced from the theories which they held, it would be unjust not to record

here the stimulus which I owed to them. Still, it is my hope that one purpose which this book may serve will be to guide the student, especially of archæology, to the proper use of repertoria of the linguistic evidence, just as in all my work on the dialects the attempt is always made to guide the student of language to a proper use of the great archæological storehouses of Montelius, Pinza, von Duhn, Mayer, Randall-MacIver, Peet, Orsi, and others.

Hence the bibliographical notes at the end of several chapters are nothing more than what they purport to be : that is, they do not claim to be complete, but only to indicate further reading. The figures, which have been all re-drawn for this book, owe much to the skill of Mr. Stuart Bruce of the Cambridge (Massachusetts) School of Art and his assistants. Explanation of some repetition which the reader will observe here and there is perhaps necessary. This repetition is intentional. The regional plan of the book made it necessary to refer more than once to certain theories, of archæology or of language, which may be novel to the reader whose interests lie in the one or the other of these two disciplines—desirable as it often is that they should be combined. It seemed better, therefore, to re-state, however briefly, such theories whenever a familiarity with them was essential to the argument. It is also necessary to add that a work like the present makes no pretensions to novelty beyond what is stated in the first paragraph of this preface. Hence, in presenting the archæological material, in which I cannot in any event claim the same authority as in the linguistic, I have deliberately chosen to follow closely the leadership of such well-known works as those of Peet and Randall-MacIver, to which my obligations are great.

Of both archæological and linguistic theories it may be truly said that some of them depend too much on their protagonists, and often tend to fade and die with the passing of their chief exponents. Purely *ex parte* theory has no place in any serious study, and I have endeavoured to avoid it, whether in archæology or in language. And there is one practice which, as a student of language, I have frequently observed in archæological writing, and against which firm protest must be made, that is against dogmatic assertions about the affiliations of the speech of some prehistoric people in complete disregard of the evidence, however convincing.

Finally, as I say my good-byes to Italy, Vergil's noble salutation :

“salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus, magna uirum ; tibi res antiquæ laudis et artis ingredior ”
may be commended to the reader as his text.

J WH.

30th June, 1936

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	V
PLATES	XIII
TEXT ILLUSTRATIONS	XV
MAPS	XIX

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION	I
1. Italy as a Unit. 2. Scope of the Study. 3. Sources of Knowledge. 4. Method. 5. Italy through the Ages.	

CHAPTER II

ITALY · THE LAND	12
1. Man and his Environment. 2. The Geography of Italy. Mountain and Plain. 3. Rivers 4. Woodlands 5. Minerals and Early Trade- Routes. 6. Man and his Environment in Italy. 7. Human Establish- ments 8. Climate. Its Pulsations. 9. The Climate of Italy 10. The Sea. 11. Modification of Environment. 12. The Sub-Divisions of the Study.	

CHAPTER III

ITALY. PREHISTORIC PEOPLES AND THEIR CIVILIZATIONS	44
1. A General Survey. 2. Palæolithic Man in Italy. 3. The Neolithic Period. 4. Alpine and Danubian Invaders. 5. Cultural Remains. 6. Palæolithic Objects 7. Neolithic Objects. 8. The Chalcolithic Period. 9. The Bronze Age. 10. The Lake-Dwellings and Terremare 11. Italy South of the Apennines in the Bronze Age. 12. The Bronze Age in Sicily. 13. The Early Iron Age.	

CHAPTER IV

ITALY: ANCIENT TRIBES AND THEIR DIALECTS	96
1. The Art of Writing in Italy. 2. The Classification of Dialects in Italy. 3. Etruscan. 4. Italy North of the Apennines 5. The Adriatic Coast. 6. Umbrian. 7. The Minor Italic Dialects. 8. Oscan. 9. Greek 10 Calabria. 11. The Islands. 12. A General Survey. 13. Italic and Celtic. 14. Italic and Germanic. 15. Some Preliminary Conclusions. 16. The Tradition.	

CHAPTER V

LIGURIA	PAGE 126
1. Boundaries. 2. Origins. 3. Their Civilization. 4. Dialect. 5. The Ticino Burials. 6. The Lepontic Dialect. 7. Its Classification. 8. The Evidence of Archæology and Tradition. 9. The Cities of Liguria. 10. Coinage. 11. Religion.	

CHAPTER VI

TRANSPADANE GAUL	146
1. Boundaries. 2. The Tradition. 3. Criticism of the Tradition. 4. Celtic Civilization in Italy. 5. The Gradual Disappearance of the Kelts in Italy. 6. Their Origin and their Speech. 7. Influence upon Latin. 8. The Roman Conquest of Transpadane Gaul. 9. Religion.	

CHAPTER VII

VENETIA AND THE RÆTI	162
1. Boundaries. 2. Histria. 3. The Ræti and their Remains. 4. The Inscriptions of Magrè. 5. The Veneti Their Goddess Re · i · tia. 6. Traditions and Dialect. 7. Typical Venetic Documents. 8. Archæological Remains of the Veneti. 9. Romanization.	

CHAPTER VIII

THE REGIO ÆMILIA, THE AGER GALLICUS, AND UMBRIA	184
1. Boundaries. 2. Dialect. 3. Proper Names of Æmilia. 4. Etruscan Remains at Bologna. 5. The Certosa Situla. 6. The Kelts at Bologna. 7. Umbria. 8. Dialects again and "National" Groups. 9. Local Names of Umbria. 10. The Iguvine Tables. 11. Umbrian Cities and the Romanization of Umbria. 12. The Adriatic Coast. 13. The "Picenes" in Umbria. 14. Etruscans and Gauls in Umbria.	

CHAPTER IX

ETRURIA AND THE FALISCANS	208
1. Introductory. 2. Boundaries. 3. The Sequence of Civilizations in Etruria. 4. The Southern Villanovans. 5. Chronology. 6. The Arrival of the Etruscans. 7. The Archæological Evidence. 8. Etruscan Graves and their Contents. 9. The Etruscan Language. 10. Theories as to its Source. 11. From Asia Minor? 12. The Evidence of Proper Names. 13. The Influence of Etruscan, The Faliscans. 14. Etruscan Overlords and Italian Unity.	

CHAPTER X

PICENUM	239
1. Boundaries. 2. Traditions and Toponomy. 3. Extent of the Picene Civilization. 4. Von Duhn's Theory. 5. Archæological Remains; Belmonte Piceno. 6. Other Picene Sites. 7. The Failure of the Picene Culture. 8. Balkan Affinities. 9. Linguistic Remains. 10. Romanization.	

CONTENTS

xi

CHAPTER XI

THE LATINS AND NEIGHBOURING TRIBES	PAGE 261
1. Boundaries. 2. The Oldest Inhabitants. 3. "Terremare and Rome." 4. "Southern Villanovans" in Latium. 5. Rome: The Esquiline and the Forum. 6. The Archæological Remains. 7. The Alban Hills. 8. The Site of Rome. 9. The Etruscans at Rome. 10. The Evidence of Language. 11. Rome in the Early Iron Age. 12. The Oldest Latin. 13. The Influence of Other Languages upon Latin. 14. The Spread of Latin.	

CHAPTER XII

SAMNIUM AND THE CENTRAL ITALIC TRIBES—CAMPANIA	283
1. Boundaries. 2. The Grouping of the Tribes. 3. Their Dialects. 4. Cultural Limits and Grouping. 5. Aufidena. 6. The Frentani, Marsi, Marrucini, Pæligni. 7. The Vestini. 8. The Sabini and Æqui. 9. Campania. 10. Cumæ. 11. Other Campanian Sites. 12. The Artiaco Tomb. 13. The Greeks in Campania. 14. The Tradition. 15. The Remains of Oscan. 16. Romanization and the Influence of Campania on Rome.	

CHAPTER XIII

APULIA AND CALABRIA	307
1. Boundaries. 2. Iapyges, Sicels, and the Illyrians. 3. Apulian Pottery. 4. The Beginning of the Iron Age. 5. Peucetian Graves. 6. The Native Wares Described. 7. The Messapic Dialect. 8. Greeks and Romans in Apulia.	

CHAPTER XIV

LUCANIA	325
1. Boundaries. 2. Early Inhabitants. 3. The Sabellians in Lucania. 4. The Lucanian Confederacy. 5. Lucanian Glosses and Proper Names. 6. Cities of Lucania	

CHAPTER XV

THE LAND OF THE BRUTTI	335
1. The Bruttii: Italia. 2. Greeks and "Barbarians." 3. The Sicels in Calabria. 4. The Archæological Evidence. 5. The Pre-Hellenic Civiliz- ation of Calabria. 6. Foreign Influence. 7. Bronzes and Weapons. 8. Ornaments. 9. Pottery. 10. The Torre Galli Graves. 11. Tradition and the Romanization.	

CHAPTER XVI

SICILY AND THE OTHER ISLANDS	355
1. Introductory. 2. Sicily: Sicels and Sicans. 3. Chronological Di- visions. 4. Sicily in the Early Iron Age. 5. Sicel Sites: Finocchito. 6. Siculo-Greek Pottery. 7. The Evidence of Language. 8. The Sicel	

Dialect.	9. Weights and Measures.	10. The End of Sicel Life.
11. Sardinia.	12. The Bronze Age in Sardinia.	13. The Megalithic Remains.
14. The Sardinian Dialect.	15. Corsica.	16. Malta and Pantelleria.

CHAPTER XVII

RELIGION, LITERATURE, AND GOVERNMENT	381
1. Religion: Introductory.	2. The Italic Tribes.
3. The Tabula Agnonensis.	4. Other Oscan Remains.
5. The Minor Dialects.	6. The Iovilæ.
7. Hercules and Other Deities.	8. Defixiones.
9. Some Remaining Cults.	10. The Beginnings of Literature.
11. Its Failure.	12. A Native Drama?
12. Law and Government.	

CHAPTER XVIII

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY	399
1. The Diversity of Peoples and Cultures	2. No "History" of Ancient Italy.
3. First Attempts at Union	4. Hellenic Civilization.
5. Italic Nationalism	6. Italic Confederacies.
7. Roman Italy.	8. Conclusion.
INDEX	417

PLATES

The Cippus Abellanus	<i>Frontispiece</i>
PLATE	FACING PAGE
I. Venetic Alphabetic Tablet (Este) *	104
II. Keltic Inscription from Novara †	106
III. "East Italic" Inscription of Grecchio *	108
IV. Tabula Iguvina, No V B	110
V. A. Messapic Inscription of Galatina (Photo Dr Nicola Vacca)	112
B. Lepontic Inscription from Campaccio (Photo Archivio Cantonale Bellinzona)	112
VI. Inscription of Gallarate †	138
VII. Inscription of Davesco †	144
VIII. Votive Pins from Este *	170
IX. Epitaph from Padua *	176
X. Inscribed Vase from Padua *	178
XI. The "Tabula Agnonensis" (British Museum)	382

* From Conway and Whatmough, "Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy" British Academy and Harvard Press. By courtesy of the Oxford University Press.

† From Rhys, "Celtic Inscriptions of Cisalpine Gaul" Proc British Academy. By courtesy of the Oxford University Press.

TEXT ILLUSTRATIONS

FIG	PAGE
1. Palæolithic Implements. Fist Hatchet from Maella, Borer and Knife from Balzi Rossi. (<i>After Colini</i>)	56
2. Square-mouthed Cup, Liguria. (<i>After Issel</i>)	58
3. Neolithic Pottery designs. A-E from Matera. (<i>After Peet</i>) F from Taranto. (<i>Quaghiati</i>) G from Villafrati. (<i>von Andrian</i>) H from Villafrati. (<i>Peet</i>) I-K from various Apulian sites. (<i>After Mayer, Orsi, Mosso</i>)	59
4. Stone Hammer-axe from Sgurgola. (<i>After Colini</i>)	62
5. Trench-grave at Remedello (<i>After Chierici</i>)	62
6. Rock-hewn Grave, Monte Racello, Sicily. (<i>B.P.I., xxiv</i>)	63
7. Dolmen at Terra d'Otranto (<i>After Pigorini</i>)	64
8. Chalcolithic Pottery-forms (<i>After Peet</i>)	64
9. Bone Ornament found at Castelluccio. (<i>After Orsi</i>)	65
10. Block of Raw Copper. (<i>B.P.I., xxx</i>)	66
11. Copper-flanged Celt. (<i>After Colini</i>)	67
12. Copper Daggers, various sites. (<i>From Peet after Colini</i>)	67
13. Painted Sicilian Pottery of the chalcolithic period. (<i>After Orsi</i>)	68
14. Pottery Jar from Brabbia, Lake Varese. (<i>B.P.I., xxix</i>)	69
15. Crescent-shaped Handle, Cataragna. (<i>From Peet</i>)	69
16. Triangular Dagger from Polada. (<i>After Colini</i>)	70
17. Axe with Curved Cutting-edge. (<i>After Colini</i>)	70
18. Plan of the Terramara at Castellazzo. (<i>From Pigorini</i>)	72
19. Bronze Dagger from Castione. (<i>After Mariotti</i>)	73
20. Bronze Sword of Terramara type. (<i>From Déchelette</i>)	73
21. Bronze Sickle, Terramara. (<i>After Colini</i>)	74
22. Bronze Spear-head, Terramara (<i>From Peet</i>)	74
23. Bronze Pins, Terramara. (<i>From Peet</i>)	75
24. Bronze Pendant from Lake Garda, and Violin-bow Fibula from Peschiera. (<i>From Montelius</i>)	75
25. Specimens of Horned or Crescent Handle. (<i>After Peet</i>)	76
26. Clay Figurines, Terramara. (<i>After Peet</i>)	77
27. Vase with <i>ansa cilindro-retta</i> . (<i>After Brizio</i>)	79
28. Crested, Bilobate, and Beaked Handles. (<i>From Peet</i>)	79
29. Vase from Grotta di Pertosa with tongue-like handle. (<i>From Peet</i>)	80
30. South Italian Vase, showing Spiral Decoration (<i>After Mayer</i>)	80
31. Rock-cut Tombs (1) with Shaft entrance, (2) Circular. (<i>After Orsi</i>)	81
32. Mycenaean Vase from Thapsos. (<i>After Orsi</i>)	81

FIG.	PAGE
33. Vase with Strip-ornament in relief. (<i>After Orsi</i>)	81
34. Bronze Sicilian Rapier from Plemmirio. (<i>After Orsi</i>)	82
35. Characteristic Sicilian Fibulæ: A Broken-backed Type B. Elbow-shaped. C. Harp-shaped, and D. Two-eyed Serpentine; all from Cassibile. (<i>After Orsi</i>)	82
36. Bronze Axe (Sicilian), with Transverse Socket. (<i>After Peet</i>)	83
37. Bronze Sword from Thapsos. (<i>After Orsi</i>)	83
38. Forms of Sicilian Red Polished Ware, Pantalica. (<i>From Orsi</i>)	83
39. Vase showing "Feather-pattern" decoration, Cassibile. (<i>After Orsi</i>)	84
40. Characteristic Villanovan Pottery Urn. (<i>From Randall-MacIver</i>)	88
41. Types of Bronze Villanovan Fibulæ. A-H, of Benacci periods, I-M, of Arnoaldi period. From San Vitale, Savena, and Sant'Isaia (<i>After Montelius and Randall-MacIver</i>)	88
42. Bronze Semi-lunar Razor, Benacci I. (<i>From Randall-MacIver</i>)	90
43. Hut-shaped Urn from the Forum at Rome (<i>After Pinza</i>)	90
44. Typical Villanovan Bronze Urns. (<i>After Randall-MacIver</i>)	91
45. Etruscan Funerary Stele with Epitaph. (<i>From C.I.E.</i> 5213)	97
46. Inscribed Fibula from Praeneste (<i>From C.I.L.</i> , 1, 2, part 1, ed. 2, no 3)	98
47. The Alphabet of Marsiliana d'Albegna. (<i>After Minto</i>)	100
48. Fibulæ from Giubiasco. (<i>After Ulrich</i>)	136
49. Bronze Ribbed Fibula, with Chain-work and Pendants, found at Rebbio (<i>After Montelius</i>)	137
50. Bronze Fibula from Palestro, late Sanguisuga Type, with Toilet Implements attached. (<i>B.P.I.</i> , xxvi)	138
51. Golaseccan Burials. (<i>From Montelius</i>)	139
52. The Sesto Calende Tomb. (<i>From Biondelli</i>)	140
53. The Bronze Situla of Sesto Calende. (<i>From Biondelli</i>)	141
54. Palæolithic Figurine of Steatite from Grimaldi. (<i>After Champion</i>)	144
55. La Tène Sword from Montefortino. (<i>From Brizio</i>)	149
56. "Peg-top" Vases found at Ornavasso. (<i>After Branchetti</i>)	151
57. The "Paletta di Padova." (<i>N.d.Sc.</i> , 1901)	168
58. Inscribed Fragment of Stag's Horn from Magrè	170
59. Inscribed Pedestal with Horse's Hoofs from Este. (<i>P.I.D.</i> , 1)	171
60. Bronze Antennæ-sword. (<i>After Soranzo</i>)	179
61. Bronze Girdle, period Este III. (<i>After Soranzo</i>)	179
62. Vase Decorated with Bronze Studs, Este III. (<i>From Randall-MacIver</i>)	179
63. Necklace of Coral and Glass Beads with Bronze Pendants, from the Benvenuti Tomb, Este III. (<i>From Montelius</i>)	180
64. Ossuary of Black Ware, Este II. (<i>From Randall-MacIver</i>)	180
65. Detail of the Benvenuti Situla. (<i>After Montelius</i>)	181
66. Certosa Fibula. (<i>After von Dubn</i>)	189
67. Etruscan Funerary Stele, Bologna. (<i>After Ducati</i>)	190
68. The Certosa Situla. (<i>From Ducati</i>)	191
69. Scene on Back of Inscribed Stone from Novilara	203
70. Bronze Bow Fibula from Novilara. (<i>Mon. Ant.</i> , v)	204
71. Bronze Spectacle Fibula, Novilara. (<i>Ib.</i>)	204
72. Picene Bronze Pendant of Chain-work. (<i>After Randall-MacIver</i>)	205

TEXT ILLUSTRATIONS

xvii

FIG.	PAGE
73. Painted Pottery Jar of Apulian Type, Novilara. (<i>After Montelius</i>)	205
74. Picene Weapons (A-D, Iron Daggers with Iron Sheaths; E, Iron Sword, with Wooden Sheath Covered with Bronze and Ivory); and (F, G), Helmets. (<i>After Montelius</i>)	206
75. Pottery Ossuary Covered with Bronze Helmet, Corneto. (<i>After Randall-MacIver</i>)	211
76. Etruscan Hut-urn found at Selciatello. (<i>N.d.Sc.</i> , 1907)	211
77. Imported Amphora found at Corneto. (<i>After Randall-MacIver</i>)	211
78. Iron Dagger with Bronze Sheath, Corneto. (<i>After Montelius</i>)	212
79. Detail of Silver Cup from Vetulonia. (<i>After Falch</i>)	215
80. Gold Fibula with Granulated Ornament. (<i>After Karo</i>)	215
81. Bronze Cauldron, Ornamented with Heads of Griffins. (<i>N.d.Sc.</i> , 1913)	216
82. Gold Fibula from Vetulonia. (<i>After Karo</i>)	216
83. Bronze Candelabrum from Vetulonia. (<i>N.d.Sc.</i> , 1913)	217
84. Fresco in Etruscan Tomb at Corneto. (<i>After Ducati</i>)	218
85. The Bocchoris Vase found at Corneto. (<i>From Randall-MacIver</i>)	219
86. Vase of Dipylon Style, Bisenzio. (<i>M.A.</i> , xxi)	219
87. Gold Pectoral from Regolini-Galassi Tomb, Cære (<i>From Randall-MacIver</i>)	219
88. Gold Plaque from the Bocchoris Tomb, Corneto. (<i>From Randall-MacIver</i>)	220
89. Stand and Vase of Red Ware, Corneto. (<i>After Pinza</i>)	220
90. Silver Bowl from Bernardini Tomb. (<i>After Pinza</i>)	221
91. Statue of Apollo from Veii. (<i>From della Seta</i>)	222
92. Etruscan Chariot from Monteleone (<i>Metropolitan Museum, New York</i>)	223
93. Etruscan Sarcophagus at Perugia. (<i>After Galli</i>)	224
94. Picene Fibulæ from Belmonte. (<i>After dall'Osso</i>)	246
95. Dice-box shaped Situla from Cupra Marittima. (<i>After Montelius</i>)	247
96. Picene Ornament with Chain-work and Pendants. (<i>From Randall-MacIver</i>)	248
97. Quadrangular Razor (Terni) and Axe-shaped Pendant. (<i>N.d.Sc.</i> , 1914)	250
98. Figure-of-eight Fibula from Terni (<i>From Randall-MacIver</i>)	254
99. "Foliated Fibula." (<i>From Randall-MacIver</i>)	254
100. Typical Picene Daggers. (<i>Montelius and M.A.</i> , v)	255
101. Torso-shaped Inscribed Stone from Belmonte. (<i>Rend. Pontif. Acad.</i> , ii)	258
102. Hut-urn from Castel Gandolfo. (<i>From Randall-MacIver</i>)	268
103. Bronze Model of a House, Falerii. (<i>From Randall-MacIver</i>)	268
104. Serpentine Fibula from the Forum at Rome (<i>N d Sc.</i> , 1906)	269
105. Bow Fibula, Forum. (<i>N.d.Sc.</i> , 1911)	269
106. Dolio-grave, Forum. (<i>Ib.</i> , 1902)	269
107. Graves in Forum at Rome. (<i>Ib.</i> , 1906)	270
108. Grave at Aufidena. (<i>After Montelius</i>)	288
109. Fibulæ from pre-Hellenic Graves at Cumæ. (<i>M.A.</i> , xxii)	294
110. Enochoe from San Valentino. (<i>From Randall-MacIver</i>)	295
111. Bronze Stand and Basin, Artiaco Tomb. (<i>M.A.</i> , xiii)	296
112. Painted Geometric Pottery from Cumæ. (<i>Ib.</i> , xxii)	297
113. Painted Pottery from Borgo Nuovo, Taranto. (<i>After Mayer</i>)	312

FIG.	PAGE
114. Apulian Silver Fibula. (<i>After von Dubn</i>)	314
115. Apulian Iron Sword. (<i>From Randall-MacIver</i>)	315
116. Ornamentation on Peucetian Crater. (<i>From Randall-MacIver</i>)	315
117. Daunian Double Bowl from Canosa (<i>After Mayer</i>)	316
118. Daunian Askos from Ascoli-Satriano. (<i>After Mayer</i>)	316
119. Daunian Ritual Vase. (<i>After Mayer</i>)	317
120. Inscribed Canosan Double Situla (<i>After Mayer</i>)	318
121. "Vasi a trozella" (<i>After Mayer</i>)	319
122. Plan and Section of Rock-cut Tomb at Canale. (<i>Orsi, M.A.</i> xxxi)	341
123. Boat Fibula from Canale. (<i>After Orsi</i>)	344
124. Bow Fibula from Torre Galli. (<i>After Orsi</i>)	344
125. Sicilian Serpentine Fibula, Finocchito. (<i>From Randall-MacIver</i>)	344
126. Four-spiral Fibula, Canale. (<i>After Orsi</i>)	344
127. Disc-fibula from Torre Galli. (<i>After Orsi</i>)	345
128. Bronze Greave, Torre Galli. (<i>After Orsi</i>)	347
129. Bronze Sword, Torre Galli. (<i>After Orsi</i>)	347
130. Ivory-covered hilt of Iron Sword from Torre Galli (<i>From Randall-MacIver</i>)	348
131. Native Pottery, Torre Galli. (<i>After Orsi</i>)	350
132. Imported Geometric Pottery found at Canale. (<i>After Orsi</i>)	350
133. Native Pottery, Canale. (<i>After Orsi</i>)	351
134. Sicilian Bronze Fibula (R M., xxiv)	358
135. Bronze Fibulæ, Finocchito (<i>From Randall-MacIver</i>)	359
136. Bronze Pendants, Finocchito. (<i>From Randall-MacIver</i>)	360
137. Geometric Græco-Siculan ware. (<i>After Orsi and Randall-MacIver</i>)	362
138. Sardinian <i>nuraghe</i> . (<i>After Pinza</i>)	369
139. "Giant's Grave," Sardinia (<i>After Mackenzie</i>)	370
140. Sardinian Rock-tombs. (<i>After Pinza</i>)	371
141, 142. Sardinian <i>nuraghi</i> , Plan and Section (<i>After Mackenzie</i>)	371
143. Megalithic Sardinian Burial-place. (<i>After Mackenzie</i>)	372
144. Bronze Statuettes, Bronze Age, Sardinia. (<i>From della Seta</i>)	373
145. Megalithic Tomb, Dorgali. (<i>After Taramelli</i>)	374
146. Plan of the Temples at Hal Tarxien. (<i>From Zammit</i>)	377
147. Pottery Jar from Hal Tarxien. (<i>From Zammit</i>)	379
148. <i>Sese</i> , Pantelleria. (<i>After Orsi</i>)	379

MAPS

1.	Modern Italy	<i>facing</i>	PAGE 16
2.	The Valley of the Po, showing the gradual building up of the Plains, with alluvial land reaching back far to the West		19
3	Ancient Italy	<i>facing</i>	40
4.	Sites of the Stone and Bronze Ages		51
5.	The Dialects of Ancient Italy		99
6.	The Tribes of Ancient Italy		119
7	The Cultural Regions of the Early Iron Age		121
8.	Chief Sites later than the Bronze Age		415
	Chronological Table	<i>facing</i>	416

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I. ITALY AS A UNIT

ITALY united, all one from the Straits of Messina to the summits of the Alps, that is a splendid vision which in modern times has powerfully moved many hearts and minds. There are probably but few still living who remember much of the stirring events which brought about in 1870, after a long struggle and in face of great obstacles, the unity of modern Italy. But many recall the efforts made since the beginning of the second decade of this century not only to bring the Trentino, the Alto Adige, and Venezia Giulia (including Histria) within the Italian frontier, but also to modify, if not to destroy, the anomaly of the papal sovereign and independent state in the Vatican city—a kingdom within a kingdom. That other anomaly, San Marino, a republic within a kingdom, can hardly be said to blur the picture which we have of united Italy, any more than the Swiss canton Ticino or the papal state.

Some two thousand years ago the consolidation of Italy, with virtually the same boundaries that she has to-day, was achieved by the final subjugation of turbulent Alpine tribes in the last two decades B.C.; it was also given administrative reality shortly before his death by Augustus Cæsar, who was the first to furnish Italy as a whole with a definite political organization. At the same time the name *Italy*, already established in familiar usage to denote the entire peninsula, received official sanction,¹ and has continued to prevail in the same meaning from that day to this. It is not strange, then, that we think not only of modern Italy, but also of ancient Italy, at least at the beginning of the Roman Empire, as a cultural and political

¹ Pliny, *N. H.*, 3, 46.

entity, conterminous with its geographical entity. But it is in the ebb and flow of events that geographical unities become political unities, which endure for a time, only as inevitably to be broken once more and re-united in turn. Ancient Italy, in the days of the monarchy at Rome, and for some centuries thereafter, although a geographical entity as still, was so far from being an entity in culture, religion, language, race, or political organization, as to show at least as much variety as modern Europe. The growth of the power of the Roman city-state into an Empire, and its spread over Italy and the Mediterranean world, is a story that has been often told. In these pages it is proposed to uncover and describe the foundations upon which the united Italy of Augustus was built.

2. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The reader will have discerned already the territorial scope of this subject. To Italy, in the modern (and Augustan) sense of the name, must be added Sicily, which is counted geographically a continuation of the peninsula, and also Sardinia and Corsica as well as Elba and the other small islands of the Tyrrhenian Sea, and, between Sicily and Africa, those of the Mediterranean. Northwards the Alps form a natural and nearly always also a cultural barrier. In time we shall look backwards as far as present knowledge can discover to us the past, and we shall end our survey when the foundations for the structure of Augustan (or Roman) Italy had been well and truly laid. Within these limits of time and in this environment of place, and subject to some limitations imposed by imperfect sources, which it is hoped to overcome as far as may be by a methodical use of such sources as there are, the several human societies that lived in Italy before the power of Rome began to spread will be studied so far as we have any records of them. It is not an easy task. As the present writer has said elsewhere, "the investigator of the early history of the non-Roman peoples of ancient Italy is in the position of one who would put together the fragments of a mosaic, all the separate pieces of which have been tumbled into a confused heap, many of them defaced or broken, and not a few lost for ever. In order to reconstruct the original picture every kind of evidence must be weighed."

3. SOURCES OF KNOWLEDGE

There is, of course, the evidence of *written history*. But this kind of evidence suffers from three obvious defects. In the first place the tradition neither is itself early, nor professes, for the most part, to record events of early date. So far from being, as they are often called, "primary," these sources are often many times removed from the authorities whom they themselves quote, and necessarily and by definition, do not refer, save incidentally, to prehistoric times. They are then quite as likely to be untrustworthy as not. Next, they are both biased and uncritical. Both Latin writers, trained in a Greek school, and Greek writers about Italian affairs not unnaturally tell their stories from the Roman point of view. Indeed often they have nothing to tell until the Roman entered the scene. Not only that, no modern historian who values his reputation can accept their accounts without criticism, even when he, too, is describing events in Italy as they appeared to the Roman. Finally it follows from these two defects that the written records for our purpose are scrappy and incomplete. In such a writer as Diodorus Siculus the constant use of "scissors and paste" is manifest. But even writers who surpass him in more painstaking and independent study, geographers and historians alike, offer nothing that remotely approaches a complete and well-arranged account of the numerous peoples who lived in Italy before the expansion of Rome, of their highly developed civilization and way of life, of their relationship to one another and to the Romans, of their languages and institutions. If such writers were in a position to learn these things, which is doubtful, they failed completely to do so. Varro with all his learning, who might well have compiled, for example, an Etruscan dictionary or grammar, never attempted, so far as we know, a work "*de lingua Etrusca*". His "*de gente populi Romani*" (which has not survived) probably could not have added much to the written accounts which we still possess. Nevertheless, such scraps of information as may be gleaned from ancient writers are not to be rejected out of hand, but rather to be subjected to examination, and then, wherever they stand the test of criticism, to be added to information drawn

from other sources. Scattered scraps they are, but still parts of the completed pattern of the mosaic.

Of far greater moment, however, is the evidence of *archæology*. For three-quarters of a century exploration conducted officially and unofficially in Italy and the islands—in some parts very vigorously and everywhere with valuable results—has been making known many an ancient site and burial-place, of most of which not even the ancient names are known. In every province of Italy remains of early settlements have been uncovered, and those, too, of peoples far removed from barbarism, which belong to an age in which by comparison Rome was unprogressive if not uncivilized. This is true not merely of the Greek cities of southern Italy, but also of the regions east and north and west of Latium occupied by tribes of which written records seldom tell us much more than their mere names. The great importance of archæological discovery will become clear in the following chapters. But it is still unfinished and it has its own limitations. The future will doubtless bring revelations as exciting as that made just about a decade ago of Sikel remains on the mainland of Italy, a striking testimony to the grains of truth hidden in many a bushel of chaff in Dionysius of Halicarnassus and other writers on primitive Italy. It is in fact steadily becoming evident that the pitifully incomplete written history, so far as it goes, is more worthy of being taken into account than archæologists in general have been willing to concede. That is the justification for the attempt so to take it into account which has been made in this book. And it should be remembered, too, that although it is the sharp spades of the archæologist that dig up ancient Italian bones for us to measure and classify on an ethnic basis, they can teach us nothing of the language which the living men spoke and but little of their beliefs or ritual or family and political organization or daily lives. We may hold in our hands the very utensils handled by those men without always knowing what they ate or drank from them.

It is here that a third kind of evidence becomes significant, though unfortunately it begins at a later date and can be used only with due caution, the *evidence of language*. Important and full of interest for its own sake, linguistic evidence is important,

too, when used to supplement, and is also itself more useful when it is supplemented by, the evidence of archæology and of history. A purely linguistic method of interpreting the remains of the non-Latin dialects of Italy defeats its own ends by refusing to employ "the first key to their interpretation"—our knowledge of ancient Italy from other sources. The non-Latin Indo-European dialects of ancient Italy are represented by some 800 inscriptions, a considerable body of glosses, and a large number of proper names; in Etruscan over 8000 inscriptions have already been published. There is, therefore, now available fairly good and constantly growing information of nearly all the dialects of pre-Roman Italy, Etruscan alone still remaining, since it is not yet translated, all but a *terra incognita*. These inscriptions often inform us of matters of which there is otherwise no record, as for example of the cults of Agnone,¹ and the relationships of the dialects to one another imply much about the historical and cultural relationships of the people who spoke them, if not always about their ethnic relationships. Not only that: despite the difficulties of correlating the findings of archæological, linguistic, and historical research, the attempt to correlate them, often deprecated, is not only justified (if made under a rigid condition to be mentioned immediately), but in fact necessary, in order to make our picture of Italy before the Roman domination come true. Without any one of these kinds of evidence, and without a careful combination of them, the picture is bound to be distorted and false. It is evident, however, that archæological and linguistic evidence are to be combined only when they pertain to the same people at the same date. Provided that this condition be fulfilled, the results of archæology and philology implement one another, and if they conflict, then either the condition has not been fulfilled or else either the archæologist or the philologist is in error in the interpretation of his materials, whereas if they are in agreement, the presumption that both are right is greatly strengthened. It is unfortunate that for various reasons the two disciplines are not more often united. Each of them at once corrects and supports the other.

¹ *Italic Dialects*, 175.

Language or dialect not only is in itself a primary and contemporary source. It also conveys within its own history much of the history of the people who speak it. For language has no independent existence, organic or other, of its own. It exists only as it is spoken. From one point of view change in language is change in culture. The change of Latin into French and the other Romance languages marches with the change from ancient to modern civilization; the more persistent fixity of Arabic accompanies a conservative culture impervious in like degree to external influences. So it is with Latin as compared with the other Indo-European languages, or with the ancient idioms of Italy as compared with Latin: not a little can be won from the study of their mutual relationships, their similarities or their differences, their borrowings and the like. Not that close agreement, as for example between the Italic and the Keltic dialects, necessarily implies close contact in more remote times of the ancestors of their speakers: it may mean nothing more than independent conservatism¹ at points where other cognate tongues have favoured innovation. But language, just as it looks forward and possesses the facility of change so as to meet the need of new expressions demanded by new discoveries and inventions, a new environment, or changing thought, belief, or practice, so it looks backward and, once it is seen to be not static but dynamic (that is, once it is studied historically and comparatively), becomes the record of a long past development of mankind.

4. METHOD

It must be remembered, however, that the record of the dialects which were current in different parts of Italy in and before the fifth century B.C. is preserved only in a few and fragmentary inscriptions. From that date onwards it becomes more extensive even though the subject-matter is still limited in range. But these dialect-materials, imperfect as they are, when combined with the notices derived from ancient writers and the evidence of archæological excavations, unquestionably have yielded some results of reasonable certainty. The method

¹ See p. 116 below, with n. 1.

which it is intended to follow will now be clear, not a unilinear but rather a multilinear historical method, reinforced by the comparative and analytical method, and this not limited to language but applied both to that and to other forms of human activity and involving a synthesis or at least a comparison of the results of archæological discovery with those of linguistic research, and of both with the historical tradition. This can be done without the aid of hazardous speculations of the kind that vitiated some earlier studies, by which the ethnic labels of history were too hastily attached to material or linguistic remains with nothing more than conjecture to justify the association, but yet which did not essentially weaken the method of comparison. If the comparative method in linguistic and other study has fallen latterly somewhat under a cloud, it is not the method itself that is the loser.

The units with which we shall be occupied are not national or political, but rather social and cultural; accordingly civilizations and their component elements, social and economic life, religion, customs, the arts, agriculture, and other occupations, institutions, or such vestiges of all these that we can now trace, much more than nations and bodies politic or their organization, will engage our attention. Obviously little can be known of these forms of human activity from material remains; nor from explicit written testimony except for the later periods, and even then ancient writers are preoccupied with political more than with human history.

The testimony implicit in the linguistic usage of any community becomes, therefore, doubly important, indirect though it is. Language has been well described as man's greatest invention; it has, indeed, made man, and it is his sole distinguishing mark. The impulse, whatever it was, that led to the differentiation of our first human ancestors, at the same time led to human speech, and man and language were evolved *pari passu*. It is only through language that human development has been possible, for language has been the means of transmitting experience and knowledge from generation to generation, whether by an oral or by a written tradition. In its turn language bears in its own history indelible traces of the tradition which it has itself fostered, and there is no form of human

activity and perhaps no human achievement the history and the development of which language may not be expected to illuminate. One of the most important manifestations of any human practice or institution is the linguistic usage bound up with it. And thanks to the comparative method we are enabled very often to go back beyond the period of actually extant records. It is no accident that imitation plays a major rôle in the transference of a cultural tradition from one individual or generation or people to another, yet imitation flexible enough to allow and even sometimes to encourage new development; for this is the essence of linguistic tradition itself, at once both the medium of many such transferences, and the mould in which they are cast.

5. ITALY THROUGH THE AGES

Coming now to Italy, let us begin by emphasizing once more the unity of the land, which also means emphasizing the importance of Italy as a whole, and minimizing, or at least reducing to its proper size, the figure that Rome is to take in our picture. Rome undoubtedly gave a political unity to what was already a geographical unit. But under the early Roman republic Italy was far from being a nation in any accepted use of that term—not a race; not always, if frequently, a language; not frequently now, if in former times, a religion; but always a territory and generally a state. For the most ancient *Italia* was none of these, not even a clearly defined territory.¹ It is true that in Augustan Italy Roman organization had established what might have grown into a nation—a territory, if not a state, whose inhabitants had adopted a common language, namely, the tongue of Latium or rather of Rome, if not a common religion. But meanwhile there had been nothing of the nature, for example, of national or patriotic feeling towards Rome. Rather the contrary. At the beginning of the Roman republic the Etruscans, whom the Roman had expelled, not to mention the Greeks of Campania, might with some justification, have regarded him as a rude barbarian. In the words of Randall-MacIver² the Roman of three or four centuries

¹ Cf. p. 109 below.

² *Italy Before the Romans*, p. 10.

before Augustus "was a very different person" from the Roman in the days of Augustus; "when Greece was still unknown and the treasures of Etruscan cities were unpillaged, when even Ennius had not begun to write, and the native literature was unborn, no one could call the Roman civilized. In the fourth century or the fifth he was extremely backward compared with several other nations in Italy".

The belief which is enshrined in ancient historians of Rome, and which is only just beginning to disappear from their modern successors, that Rome was all but a heaven-sent power whose mission it was to civilize both Italy and the world, is untrue. The provinces of Italy, with hardly an exception, already had remarkable civilizations of their own before Rome conquered them. Some of the territories which it then became her duty to govern were prosperous and occupied by peoples at least as long established in Italy as the Romans. There were many cities whose inhabitants were familiar with objects of art and luxury wellnigh unknown to contemporary Romans, experienced in crafts strange to them, and accustomed to commercial and other relationships with the outside world as yet unparalleled at Rome. Yet the course of events was such that in the end interest centres in Rome. The enormous influence of Italy and Rome in European affairs and letters for many centuries has made a proper understanding of the rise of the "eternal city" of paramount importance, which in its turn lends importance to the setting from which Rome shed her lustre. But neither the language nor the institutions of Rome can be fully understood if they are severed from the kindred speech and customs of peoples living within a hundred miles of her walls. Rome without Italy is simply unintelligible. Not an isolated phenomenon, but part, and at first a comparatively unimportant part of Italy, Latium and Rome will be studied in these pages with the other settlements, and, so far as possible, explained with and by them. Again Italy, too, despite her mountainous northern frontier, is not completely walled off from association with continental Europe. From time immemorial there has been a constant coming and going over the passes of the Alps, especially at their eastern and western ends. And the Mediterranean Sea, indeed, has served more often to help than to hinder

intercourse. Some account, therefore, must be taken also of the contributions made by the rest of the ancient world to the foundations of Roman Italy.

Both for her own sake as even the most casual traveller sees her to-day, and also for her long and glorious past, Italy continues to exercise her fascinating charm over all who have once come under its spell. The land has been, as it were, the theatre for the performance of some of the most important acts in the play which we call human history, at least in the western world. For nearly two thousand years, from the fall of Carthage to the discovery of America, she was the centre of that world. Two of the greatest events in its history had their origin in Italy—the formation of the strongest and most closely knit political structure which it has yet seen, and at a later epoch that regeneration and reanimation, the movement affecting all sides of life, which we call the renaissance. The most remote strivings away from barbarism and towards civilization in a country which has shown such preponderance in two ages can hardly be empty of interest or importance for an understanding of human progress as a whole in Europe both ancient and modern. The Italian instinct for art throughout the ages, the variety and at times the grandeur of her monuments, the richness of her historical associations, and not least her sturdy citizens,

genus acre uirum, Marsos pubemque Sabellam,
adsuetumque malo Ligurem, Volscosque uerutos

and her leaders of men,

Decios, Marios magnosque Camillos,
Scipiadus duos bello, et te, maxime Caesar ¹—

all these have made the legacy of Italy a precious one in every age. And Italy still has her youth bred in a hard school,

patiens operum exiguoque adsueta iuuentus ; ²

what the ultimate worth to mankind will be of her new leaders of men, or of their political theories, it is perhaps still too soon

¹ Verg, *Geo.* 2, 167-170. This and the following quotation lose nothing for being familiar.

² *Id., ib.*, 472.

to speak. But they are full of promise, and the latest unity of Italy bids fair to shine with a splendour that may well rival the old.

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CHAPTER II

ITALY: THE LAND

I. MAN AND HIS ENVIRONMENT

A SIMPLE human society, as among primitive pastoral or hunting peoples, when it has attained, almost or completely, a stage of equilibrium in its economic, social, and political organization (no matter how little or how highly specialized its way of life may be), is likely, so long as the equilibrium remains undisturbed, to be without history. It has no incentive towards achievement or even to change of any sort, and hence there is nothing to record of it, over long periods of time. The challenge of nature, once adequately met, ceases to be a challenge, and without its stimulus there can be no noteworthy response. Now there have been evolved, in the north-western quarter of the Old World, groups of men whose history, or the history of their emigrant peoples, is to-day the most extensive and most important of any on earth. This is not an accident, but the result of long-protracted effort, not through a continual advance, but rather in a series of progressions which have taken place by fits and starts and which were invoked in response to the stimulus of the environment in which these groups of men have lived. One of the most potent factors in this environment, in Italy as elsewhere, is regional. For all life, of plants and animals, as well as of man, is profoundly affected by geographical location, by land-forms and bodies of water, by soil and minerals, and by climate; and the human responses, even the most strenuous, that are made to these influences, either to benefit from them or to overcome them, appear most clearly in the effects which they produce in man himself. Even when an entire territory is reclaimed from a

previously manless or almost manless condition, as happened in Italy in not very remote prehistoric times, climate still remains to affect the health and energy of his race, and perhaps will be the last factor of all in his environment to be controlled by man. But it is the regional environment as a whole that furnishes man with the means of satisfying his material needs of food and drink, of clothing, shelter, tools, and means of transport; that determines the kind of occupation which he must follow for that purpose—hunting, fishing, herding, farming, lumbering, or manufacturing; that sets a limit to his numbers, which in turn exercise no mean control over his power of gratifying higher needs, such as recreation, art, religion, science, government, education. For while it is true that local conditions may modify man's responses, and that much may be done to provide for his higher needs by determination and energy in face of great odds, it is also true that satisfaction of such needs is in large measure dependent upon a certain degree of "density of population" and on a certain degree of prosperity; they are crippled by abject poverty and become impossible in isolation. Compared, then, with the forces of geographic location, of natural resources, of climate, and of natural selection, all the human inventions, discoveries, and ideas, all the influence of men of genius, all the economic forces that bind mankind closely together, the growth and pressure of population, the interplay of war, religion, human intrigue, and ambition—all these are secondary.

2. THE GEOGRAPHY OF ITALY: MOUNTAIN AND PLAIN

A small self-contained but diversified country such as Italy is a geographical *multum in parvo*. It possesses within its own boundaries great varieties of altitude and climate, of soil and products, and of continental, peninsular, and insular environment, for although a unity, it is a unity that easily splits itself into fractions. The long arc of the Alps in the north separates Italy from Europe sharply enough to give definition to a country the name of which cynical politicians of the last century were fond of asserting to be "merely a geographical expression," but not sharply enough to isolate it completely from the adjoining

regions. At both extremities there are fairly easy approaches, at the western end along the Ligurian coast, at the eastern the more difficult Danubian route leading over the Carnic Alps and entered along the southern tributaries of the Danube, namely, the Save and the Drave; and between them there is an astonishing number of excellent passes, evenly distributed for the most part, of which the Brenner, the lowest, has been in use from very remote times.

The passes over the Julian Alps and over the mountain saddle of the rocky Carso plateau were well known to the ancients, especially the Mons Odra route which was probably the route followed by invaders from the Danube valley. The same route (and also the Brenner) was followed by the amber trade; it was over the eastern passes, the weak spot in the Alpine frontier, that the Gallic and later invasions took place, and the same routes were used for troops and military supplies in the days of Strabo. As we shall see in a later chapter the ethnology of north-eastern Italy, an "Italia irredenta" of ancient times, reveals clearly the nature of this gap through which an Illyrian stock had pushed its way to spread over Venetia as far westwards as the Mincio. Besides, the Alps do not, as might be supposed, offer effective protection against foreign invasion. They are steepest on the Italian side, the northern slopes being comparatively gentle so that since prehistoric days they have constantly encouraged successive streams of invaders, tempted by the charm of the Italian climate, to descend upon the Po valley which is not easily defended. The Apennines also, a second line of defence, and serving after a fashion to mark off northern Italy, have played the same part for the same reason. There was an ancient Etruscan route across them into Æmilia. Despite, therefore, the lofty Alps, the obstacle of the Po, and the barrier of the Apennines, the history of Italy is a history of repeated invasions. Then, too, central and southern Italy are so divided into mountain-bound valleys or plains and fertile coastal districts, shut off from the interior of the country, that they fall naturally into several separate regions where populations of diverse origins have been able each to lead its own life independently of its neighbours by establishing a loose yet effective union within themselves like the Etruscan in Etruria,

or the Samnite confederacy in the central Apennines. There was the same striking geographical contrast between regions north and south of the Apennines, and again between central and the southern parts of Italy, in the early iron age as that which strikes the modern traveller, albeit the transition in the intermediate zones was (and is) remarkably gradual. The islands are even more obviously self-contained and independent.

While, therefore, continental Italy resembles the European mainland in its geographic, ethnological, and historical character, with the same sort of blending of race, languages, and cultures along the Alps in ancient as in modern times, the peninsula proper is essentially a long crescent fold of the European mountain zone. The Alps themselves are the focus of a young system of folds which merge at the west into the narrow Ligurian Apennines and then spread out again into the multiple folds of the Italian Apennines, sweeping through the length of the peninsula right down to the toe of Italy where they jump the straits and emerge in Sicily to be prolonged into Africa beneath a slight submergence, from which mountain tops like Pantelleria and Malta—relics of an ancient land-bridge—project. The system is carried back to the Maritime Alps through Africa and Spain, making a western mountain system linked by the great inverted S-curve of the Alps, stretching from the Gulf of Lyons to Vienna, to an eastern system the southern arm of which branches off in a south-easterly direction from the Carnic Alps down the eastern side of the Adriatic. Italy is thus, as it were, a European leg thrust into the very midst of Mediterranean affairs, but still joined to the main body of Europe, and not quite (at least in historic times) spanning the Mediterranean—a joint, not a breach, between its eastern and western parts. More modest in height than the Alps, the Apennines are flanked by soft beds of alluvium, volcanic plains, and ancient ocean floors alternately submerged and elevated. Corsica and Sardinia are but an offshoot of the Italian mountain system, separated from the mainland merely by a narrow strait of shallow water.

At all times, therefore, many of the inhabitants of Italy have found themselves within or adjoining a mountain-environment. It is not astonishing to find that the strategic importance

of peoples who occupied the ends of passes early tended to assume a political significance. In a region again such as the Tyrol each segregated or diverging valley is apt to become an area of strongly marked linguistic or cultural differentiation. The conditions are quite different along the stretch of coast at the head of the Adriatic Sea, where there is a conjunction of a busy sea-route with various land-routes, and where there has been a succession of maritime cities—Spina, Ravenna, Aquileia, Venice, Trieste; and also on the Ligurian side, where, in addition to the coastal road, for which there is barely space enough between sea and mountains, there is also a low pass leading from Piedmont to the Gulf of Genoa which has been travelled since long before pre-Roman times, and several routes through the Maritime Alps which were important long before the acquisition of Spain by Rome. Further afield Provence was a march land, the Rhone breach made Gaul a transit land, and the Belfort pass (the Burgundian gate), connecting Rhine and Rhone, marks the line of one of the two chief highways from Italy to the north—the other being a line continued northwards from the Brenner.

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the Italian landscape, except in the plain of Lombardy, is the interlocking of valley, plains, and mountains. In winter the mountains are covered with snow, but provide fresh pasturage in summer, while the plains, which are hospitable in winter, after the refreshing rains of autumn, in summer endure a period of arrested growth because of drought that sometimes lasts two months. Hence, live-stock, being easily transported, became, as in many other parts of the Mediterranean world, the characteristic form of wealth (*pecunia*), pastured alternately in the plains or on the mountain slopes, and thus giving rise to a pastoral form of society. At first no doubt the distances annually traversed were short, but in historical times they became much longer, as for example between the Abruzzi and the Campagna or the treeless flat lands around Foggia. But a swarm of shepherds descending periodically upon the plains can only prove a hindrance to agriculture, which is also deprived of a supply of labourers; for these are hardly available in the sowing and harvesting seasons and there is no firm bond established between

the tiller and his soil. Moreover, the recurrent though brief periods of conflict and disturbance between the people of the plain and the nomads spell in the long-run war and the ruin of the small-holder: his settlement must sooner or later be swept away to give place to the great estates (*latifundia*) of the sheep farmer. Emigration is an almost universal phenomenon in regions of comparatively high altitude, even if it is but a seasonal movement. A sparse population is the result, and with it a retarded development, as contrasted with the denser settlements of other localities.

But there is another rôle that mountains may play, which is well seen in many a well-preserved centre of population in hilly country in Italy wherever there is a rush of health-bringing waters with their beneficent action. The average altitude of the most-favoured zone for habitation is between 600 and 1200 feet above sea-level, sometimes even higher. There, well above the dangerous and unwholesome water-logged swamps of lower levels, are to be found ancient fortified settlements

*congesta manu præruptis oppida saxis*¹

still familiar in the age-old cities of Etruria and Umbria such as Orvieto, Foligno, Assisi, or of Sabine, Latin, and Volscian territory. These cities were usually associated together in a vigorous cantonal life, at first independently, when they were affiliated by their several dialects, later on subject to Rome and held together by her decree. In such mountain zones we meet terrace agriculture, strips of olive and other crops, as along the arcs of the Apennines, and not infrequently there are waves of dense population on those mountain slopes as also on the southern slopes of the Alps. In central and southern Italy, too, very many of the earliest settlements were on high ground, whence they moved gradually to the plains; the reasons are largely the same—the superiority of the upland climate, the more abundant rainfall, greater security, and good soil.

Earthquakes, volcanic activity, and other abundant evidence in Italy indicate that the country is part of an area geologically recent in formation, in fact still in the making. Moreover, volcanic earth, as in Sicily, Campania, Latium, and Etruria,

¹ Verg., *Geo.* 2, 156.

is notoriously fertile. The ancients were well aware of the value of wind-borne or rain-washed volcanic ash as top dressings. Earthquake shocks have been frequent throughout the recorded history of Italy. No part of it, or of Sicily, is entirely exempt, but they are most frequent, especially in the south of the peninsula, in a zone extending along the mountain ranges, where they are due to folds and faults in the Alps and Apennines. Volcanic rifts running from the borders of the Alps through Italy and Sicily into Africa are another source of earthquakes. For besides several volcanoes active in ancient and modern times, there are also many old cones of extinct volcanoes, as in the Euganean hills, and some extensive ones filled with water, as the crater lakes of Etruria. Local names such as *Formiae* testify to the activity of hot springs which occur at many points, particularly in Etruria, and the ancients themselves ascribed the straits of Messina to a cataclysmic rift which had torn Sicily asunder from Italy, even though the name *Regium* does not mean "rift".¹ They also supposed² that it was an eruption of Etna that caused the Sicans to move westwards! Volcanic eruptions are often attended with earthquakes and these with tidal waves and subsidences of the coast. In the Bay of Naples in particular there have been marked though not necessarily sudden movements of the coast line from such causes, and the entire Tyrrhenian Sea is in fact an old submerged land-area.

3. RIVERS

Between the Apennines and the Alps lies the valley of the river Po. Even within historic times the silting of the delta has driven back the sea from cities like Adria, Spina, and Ravenna which stand where the shore used to be. Not only the lower Po and its outlets often have changed their courses, but the turbulent tributaries of the river also, especially those

¹ In good Latin sources *Regium*, the spelling *Rhegium* being due to the Greek ρ in *Ῥήγιον*. *Regium* is doubtless a Sikel or Italic (S. Oscan or Ligurian?) name, compare *Regium Lepidum* on the Via Æmilia, whatever the etymology, and see *Prae-Italic Dialects*, ii, p. 472; i, p. 409; *Italic Dialects*, pp. 5, 200 (where ϵ in *πέγες* in the gloss from Eustathius is probably a mark of genuineness, an attempt to indicate a close Latin ϵ).

² Diod. Sic., 5, 6, 3.

from the north, for example the Adige. Inundations are still common. Yet it is in this great plain of Lombardy, where in very remote times the Adriatic ran far inwards, that vast changes have been wrought both by nature and by the work of men.

Once it was a water-logged swamp with extensive fenlands hemming in its delta and fringed with dense forests and heaths, that, overrun by wild oxen and wild pig, extended right up to the forests of the encircling hills. As such it was for many years an effective barrier between Europe and Italy south of the Apennines, and by the end of the stone age it was populated with lake-dwellers whose way of life it determined. Nowadays it is one of the best-cultivated regions not only in Italy but in Europe. It is a region of transition from lands enjoying the "Mediterranean type" of climate to the rainy lands of central Europe; hence its rich alluvial soil is ensured abundant moisture, either by direct rainfall or by irrigation which doubles or triples its grass crops and amplifies its agricultural products. The forests of its mountain valleys still give an abundant yield of lumber as in the days of the pile-dwellers.

All the other rivers of Italy are very different from the Po. They are of small volume, and the short ones, the characteristic *fiumare*, torrents in winter, run almost or completely dry in summer and become pebbly beds that serve as highways through open plains to uplands of considerable altitude, natural avenues convenient for cattle driving; local travel still takes place at some seasons in some parts of Italy along dry river-beds. Even the longer rivers like the Tiber and the Arno, like the tributaries of the Po, which rather than that river itself they somewhat resemble, are often in flood in the rainy season, attended by destructive spates or converting the lowlands into extensive swamps. Only the Po of the rivers of Italy, thanks to its ample volume, gentle current, and long course, is navigable on a large scale, aided by canals and navigable tributaries. The otherwise safe anchorage of the broad channels of the several mouths, and the still broader channel of the main stream, are impaired by silting. Nevertheless, an important prehistoric trade-route from the Adriatic to the foot-hills of the Alps followed the line of the river which thus acquired great economic importance.

The Tiber, on the other hand, ceases to be navigable a short distance from the coast, and even in the Po valley, the later roads avoided the river as such to be safe from floods. Thus the Via Æmilia and the Via Postumia follow the lines of the hills, linking together the cities gathered at their feet where they merge into the plain. The evolution of many of the river mouths is a story similar to that of the Po delta, and in at least three places on the western coast, at Monte Circeo (*Circai*, in Volscian territory), and at Monte Massoncello and Argentario (*Populonia* and *Mons Argentarius* in Etruria) islands have been tied to the mainland by silting so as to become promontories. Changes in the courses of rivers are noteworthy here also; for example, the river Auser (now the Serchio) in remote times entered the Arno just below Pisa, although in classical times, as to-day, it has an independent mouth. No wonder, then, if true seaports are few; the river mouths are apt to be fatal to them and therefore to be avoided. Port cities must either side-step the rivers, or else seek the few deep harbours which the coast of Italy affords and which in Italy as a rule have no river valley connexions with the hinterland. Streams, springs, and sources in general are so beneficent that in Italy as elsewhere early settlers gladly counted them the habitations of kindly powers. Larger streams, too, possessed of the power to destroy as well as to aid, had their attendant spirits, such as the primitive Neptunus, originally a spirit of water, and often enough the river-name also becomes a divine name, as for example the *Clitumnus* in Umbria, where eventually Clitumnus was syncretized with Jupiter.

Irrigation was a prehistoric invention. When first practised it probably caused a social disturbance as great as the innovation of agriculture had done before it, or as the "industrial revolution" caused in the last century. But it is probable that the earliest inhabitants of Italy of whom we have any extensive knowledge as having used it were familiar with irrigation before they entered Italy, brought it with them in fact. Nevertheless, the very fact that it was practised in Italy from an early date is in itself proof enough, if proof were needed, that it was necessary and indispensable. Moreover, irrigation is important in the effects which through it are produced by climate upon

the progress and distribution of civilized communities. The sub-tropical or "Mediterranean" climate of Italy, is a comparatively dry one during the summer months, and southern Italy suffers markedly from drought at that season. Many parts of the land are as notable for cereal and fruit crops dependent upon extensive irrigation as others for their great numbers of sheep, goats, and donkeys. Irrigation, however, implies settled agriculture and with it an end of nomadic life, a new stimulus to fresh advance from every improvement, the exercise of forethought, a willingness to live at peace with one's neighbours and to submit to a settled rule (whether of a monarch or of the majority), sometimes even self-government at least in matters affecting the water supply (as witness the present day "water parliaments" of many localities in north Italy), and the growth of communal life in general since it obliges men to live fairly close together. In Italy irrigation is not possible on an extensive scale; but it anchors the Italian farmer to his farm—unless he has both a highland and a lowland farm. Presumably it was introduced there by the Etruscans from Asia Minor: in the eastern Mediterranean it had long been known. Not only in the valley of the Po, then, where the district around Placentia and Parma has been completely canalized for ages, but even in the Alpine Piedmont, where disputes arose along the Dora Baltea about water, and nearly everywhere in the peninsula proper, the forces of nature were supplemented by dykes or aqueducts, some of them on a grand scale. Roman law reflects clearly, in what is no doubt the formal statement of ancient irrigation-rules, the urgent need for water control. Side by side with irrigation went various reclamation enterprises, including the draining of lakes, though not all of these were permanent; the development of pleasure gardens, such as the famous one of Tarquinius Superbus and such as those the remains of which have come to light at Pompeii—attached to country estates they were on a much larger scale; the terracing of volcanic slopes and the growth of populous hill towns; and, it appears, also the introduction of the scourge of malaria, though that was doubtless adventitious. Just as Italy had everywhere its spirits of the streams and mountains, so also it had its weather god Jupiter and its gods of forest and agriculture, Silvanus and

Mars. For from time to time the drought was serious enough to cause famine.

4. WOODLANDS

Regions of arboriculture, no less than of agriculture, present a strong contrast with a pastoral regime. They, too, were early settled thickly and continued steadily to grow. Moreover, they furnish a reserve of population for emergencies, as well as recruits for neighbouring towns and for migrations. Not only the olive (which was not indigenous, but introduced from Greece) but also many kinds of fruit trees and nut-producing trees have long flourished in Italy—she was famous for them in ancient times. But many of these were late-comers. In the earliest times, however, forest trees had not yet been made to give way for them, particularly (as we have already seen) in the Po valley. There the forest and its *horrenda umbra* was a barrier until long after the coming of Keltic invaders whose marauding bands it helped to split up into mere detachments of stragglers. Denudation seems to have proceeded apace about ancient cities and towns, but in late historical times the forest lands were still much more extensive than they are to-day. There were in general ample supplies of timber in the north-western Mediterranean world, but Italy and its adjacent islands were certainly the chief lumber countries. The slopes of the Alps and the Apennines were clothed with forests, thanks to their heavy rainfall (30 to 40 inches annually). In the vicinity of Rome were ancient woodlands of fir and pine; the beech groves of the plains of Etruria and Latium were used for shipbuilding; Corsica was covered with trees, in particular conifers, down to the very coasts so as to make the island an object of conquest to the Etruscans who expelled earlier Phocæan colonists. In Etruria itself the Ciminian forest seemed frightful and impassable. In the Ligurian Apennines, where the rainfall is still heavier (50 inches annually) the forests were even denser; and the larch of the Rætian Alps was famous still in the days of Pliny. More than one variety of oak tree has been dominant in Italy, and Monte Alburno, described by Vergil as “green with holm-oaks,” still has scattered groves of that tree around it. Not only the region of Aspromonte at the southern end of

Calabria, but also, if the name may be trusted, the country of the Peucetii had been covered with pines or other resinous trees. The effect of increasing deforestation over a long period of time has made itself apparent especially in the loss of a thin surface soil, particularly on the hill-sides, and with its loss the destruction of the forests is rendered permanent. But this belongs in general to a later period than is described in this book.

5. MINERALS AND EARLY TRADE-ROUTES

Italy is not rich in metals. The character of the oldest civilizations of the land was in part determined by the lack of iron, of which Italy has very little—her chief supplies come from Elba, where iron has been worked since early times. The importance of iron is easy to see. Its capacity for assuming a multitude of forms, its hardness and its strength, its ductility, and its magnetic properties have made it the universal material for tools. Phœnician traders were attracted, therefore, by the deposits of iron, as well as of copper and silver, in Sardinia. Etruria, too, has some iron and mercury, while the tin that is mined in an old crystalline area around Mt. Amiata and Catini in Etruria certainly contributed to the magnificent and lavish ancient Etruscan bronze work. The pooriness of Italy in iron helps to explain the prolonged chalcolithic period in which stone gradually went out of use for making weapons and before iron had come in. And indeed the gradual changes by which the two ages of metals were substituted for the ages preceding them were the result not of native enterprise, nor of the use of native supplies by foreign prospectors, but, as we shall see, of a long slow infiltration of people from the north. For a long time there was nothing that could be called commerce within Italy, and but little attraction for outsiders to bring their wares to Italy. Such contacts as there were in the early periods do not lend themselves to generalization but must be reserved for special treatment in their proper places. It may be noted now, however, that in the early iron age the south shows over-sea intercourse, that Latium and Etruria begin to serve as middle-men for Greek sea-borne trade and for trade north of the Apennines, and that the tribes of the Alpine valleys, especially

at the heads of passes and along passes play a similar part between Italy and Europe north of the Alps. In historical times there is evidence of very active specialized traffic, such as the trade in salt, associated not only with salt mines in Sicily (at Gela and Agrigentum) and the salt pans of central Italy (for example at Ostia the *Salinæ Romanæ*, or in Campania the *Salinæ Herculeæ*), with actual treaties made affecting the salt trade (as between the Romans and the Sabines) and the Via Salaria that ran right across the peninsula from Rome to the coast of Picenum, but also with local names such as *Salinæ* (in the country of the Vestini, and again of the Dauni) or *Salapia* (also Daunian); the trade in wine which marched step by step with the trade in olive oil (both important for the sustenance of man living on a Mediterranean diet), and, at a later date in unguents—a Lepontic inscription on a vase discovered near Lake Orta records a gift of “Naxian wine,” though it is not clear whether the wine came from the Sicilian or the Ægean Naxos,¹ and the forms of *oliua* and *oleum* in Latin and of *win* in the early Germanic dialects are eloquent testimony to the early date of the borrowing of these words from Greek and Latin respectively together with the importation of the products which they designate; the trade in purple, ample supplies of which were to be had from the beds of shell-fish (*murex*) in the Gulf of Tarentum; in wool, for which Apulia was famous; in pottery and in marble, which were respectively Etruscan and Ligurian specialities; not to mention products from further afield, like flax from Liguria and Gaul, and silk from the orient—the latter a luxury of still later days, or the trade in slaves whose names frequently reveal their place of origin or their ancestry, like that of the famous Thracian, Spartacus or Spardokos. But these later enterprises usually followed old-established routes, like the Etruscan route from Pisa over the Apeninnes to Spina; and the coastal sailing characteristic of ancient navigation, dependent upon headland guides and restricted to a short season from May to September, also has a very long history as is indicated not only by the transmission of various forms of the alphabet but also by the antiquity of many of the cults associated with temples set up on promontories

¹ See *Præ-Italic Dialects*, ii, p. 554.

like those of Aphrodite at Ancona, of Hera at the Capo di Leuca, or of Aphrodite again at Eryx. Italy in general offers serious difficulties to the seaman; canals were necessary to improve navigation in the Po delta, and some districts, like Latium with its inland population, have and had little maritime activity. Here, as in the country of the Messapii, we find twin cities, a coastal and an inland town, Ostia and Rome like Ceglie Messapico and Brindisi.¹ The dangers of piracy which in the last century B.C. menaced all the trade of the Mediterranean, the vital corn supply of Rome included, until the pirates were destroyed by Pompey, was in part responsible for this peculiarity, at least on the Apulian coast. But Phœnicians, Greeks, and Etruscans had suffered from it long before, despite their nautical efficiency. Their early settlements, therefore, were placed inland from the shore, where at any rate they could be defended from pirates if not from predatory raids by mountaineers descending to the plains.

The Adriatic Sea in particular was infested by corsairs, and there has been advanced the not improbable suggestion that the Etruscan invaders of Italy should be regarded as a "substantial body of sea-raiders," whether they reached western Italy on its own sea-coast or from some landing-place on the Adriatic in or near the delta of the Po. In any event, and this is the important point, there has been a tendency to underrate the possibilities of migration on a large scale by sea in quite early times. As we shall see below (in Chapter XIII) the Messapii reached Italy by sea, though for them the distance so travelled was very short. And the great migrations that are of first importance in the prehistory of Italy unquestionably took place by land.

6. MAN AND HIS ENVIRONMENT IN ITALY

The final stages in the formation of the Mediterranean region, much as we know it at present, took place in the Tertiary and early Quaternary periods, that is it was completed at a date later than the earliest in which the presence of man can be demonstrated. It is not necessary here to enter into the much-

¹ Cf. *Præ-Italic Dialects*, ii, pp. 262, 264 f.

disputed problems connected with the origin and diffusion of the human "race". We have rather to consider particular races which had been evolved elsewhere before they came to contribute their quota to the mixed population that dwelt in pre-Roman Italy. It seems probable that some degree of isolation¹ is a necessary condition of race, serving if not to create at least to maintain racial differentiation (that is, those somatic characteristics which may be counted as permanent racial indications, or at any rate as persisting over long periods of time). At all events, beside certain changeable characteristics there are those which, once established, may be regarded for our purposes as permanent; and whatever the mechanism was by which the latter set of characteristics was evolved,² or by which the former are modified (perhaps mixture of races or change of environment), it is enough for us to observe here that the formation of races took place in the very early history of mankind. Environment is known to be potent enough in compelling an adaptation of plants and animals, man included, to itself. The result, where immigration has taken place, is the formation of complex ethnic groups. In the Mediterranean basin we meet at the outset, both in southern Europe and in northern Africa, the so-called "Mediterranean" race. There are not only marked physical resemblances but also indubitable resemblances between the products of palæolithic industry on both sides of that sea, north and south. Whether or not Mediterranean man in neolithic Italy is an invader from Africa, there is one fact that stands out very clearly: namely, that all new-comers from the north, both "Alpine" and "Nordic," have succumbed in turn to their new environment, the greater summer heat or the many treacherous pitfalls inherent in the charm of the Mediterranean climate and, early in the historical period, also to malaria. But after the toll had been taken, the remainder may be presumed to have been absorbed into the total mass, which was thus enriched with new blood. In Italy,

¹ It has even been suggested that isolation of a small group fosters a rapid increase in population. The example of the Germans in Brazil, said to have increased ten-fold in two generations, is cited in this connexion.

² According to Sir Arthur Keith pituitary secretions; see his presidential address, Section H, *Proc. Brit. Assn.*, 1919, pp. 275 ff.

then, Mediterranean man has proved himself the dominant type with his own mode of life, worked out to fit his environment and guaranteeing his survival. The process is both one of struggle between man and nature, and also of collaboration between them. In its own environment the essential racial quality of a given race is more vital, despite every combination of forces that may conspire to break it down, such as the advent of new races; city life, that great leveller; religion (if it is not racially exclusive); political forms and language (both of which are racially heterogeneous and impermanent). Ethnic characteristics are thus obscured, but not obliterated. The movements and counter-movements by which the fabric of history is woven all play their part, even on a small scale, where the detail of the fabric is clear, as in the mixed population of cities like the Sicilian Zankle (Messina) or in the Greek colonization of Magna Graecia and in the Italic "sacred springs".

7. HUMAN ESTABLISHMENTS

Ancient cities are thus produced by the accretions of time. Round a distinct core, the "city" *par excellence*, gather new elements, the borough and the quarters (*urci*), the whole being tied together by an interlacing network of streets. The actual sites of human establishments were doubtless not a matter of accidental choice but carefully selected. Not that they were certain to be permanently occupied on that account. Many a "city" was founded in an inaccessible place, the mountain *oppidum*, because of the chronic insecurity of the times; such are not usually permanent but survive only as ruins. Nevertheless, most of the modern towns and cities of Italy do date back to Roman or pre-Roman times. What makes the city important to us is chiefly the fact that for the development of a high degree of civilization it is necessary for a large part of the population to be concentrated in cities, even though the cities may be quite small as measured by modern standards. The long delay in the growth of city life in ancient Italy is therefore significant. Instead we find loosely associated clans living in small and scattered groups, settlements perched on easily defended hill-tops. These indeed are characteristic of Latium,

Etruria, and Campania, they led to the formation of local federations, and in many cases were strongly fortified and garrisoned. To the special story of Rome, destined to become the capital of an *orbis terrarum*, ever growing until it embraced the whole Mediterranean world we shall return later. In Umbria, and even more obviously in the Marches (along the coast) and in Æmilia, where the site of Bologna is perhaps typical, we have a series of piedmont towns linked together by the main highways.

Various building materials were used for these human establishments. As late as the chalcolithic age huts were still being built of wattle and daub. Timber was employed for pile-dwellings. But in the Mediterranean man tends to prefer stone, which is abundant and easily quarried. Led to it perhaps at first by the lure of certain lustrous mineral substances, he learnt to quarry the outcrops of rocks which occur all through that region and in the end developed an architecture, both public and domestic, of great beauty. Not only marble, which by exposure to air and light both is hardened and acquires a patina of warm rich colours, but also travertine, sometimes mistaken for marble, blocks of lava and volcanic rocks for paving, and limestone, came to be in common use. Expert stoneworkers must have been available to construct the Sardinian *nuraghi*, which belong to the chalcolithic period again, and yet are recalled by the modern *trulli* or *truddhi* of Apulia in use to-day. The successive stages of the history of Syracuse are carved in the stone quarries (*latomie*) with which the environs of the city are riddled. The *urbs quadrata* was a walled city, and remains of the so-called "Cyclopean" masonry, which used to be ascribed vaguely to the "Pelasgians," are common, as are also megalithic monuments. It would be a mistake to read into the dwellings of man in Italy all that is implied to us by the northerner's house that is also a home, with all its associations and sentiments, an abode for winter work and home industries, though there seems to have been something much more like it in early Italy than in the romantic land of outdoor life and *dolce far niente* beloved of the poet and artist. Thus the sloping roof, necessary in order to shed snow and rain, appears to have been introduced from the north, where it was just as important as close-fitting garments, *bracæ* and the heavy

sagum, as contrasted with the looser and lighter garb of the southern peasant and herdsman.

Building implies a certain degree of skill in methods of transport. The wheel was indeed much older than the Italian lake-dwellings in the remains of which also it is found. In fact, the first knowledge of the use of metals, gold, bronze, iron, silver, in which Italy herself is poor, is ascribed to the arrival of new peoples or at least of foreign traders, some of them from the plain lands of central Europe, where the wheeled wagon was more useful than on the precipitous mountain tracks of Italy. But so soon as great distances could be covered by its means a new factor entered into the relations of groups of men to one another—they are easily but definitely brought into contact with one another, even if but intermittently. For it must be observed that the most important article of transportation was man himself. At the dawn of history there was already a human stream, at times torrential, pouring from central Europe into the peninsula, a stream which has never been completely and permanently stemmed. From the north, too, came many an improvement in wheeled vehicles. The ancients themselves were well aware of their indebtedness, which is as clearly written in the history of words such as *petorritum*, *rada*, *cisium*, and *ploxenum* to mention no others, and the adaptation of an ancient agricultural implement, the plough, to the use of the wheel, is credited to the ingenuity of a north Italic people, the Ræti, and struck Roman commentators as entirely foreign.¹

The narrow coastal plains and low valleys of Italy did something to foster agriculture and to hasten the end of nomadic life. There is clear evidence in the customs, traditions, and even in the religion of Latins and Ligurians, as also of the Kelts, that points to the superseding of stock-raising by tillage, though it is clear, too, that the Latin farmer made great advances in the technique of raising cattle. Cattle and horses, both of them requiring good fodder, are thus associated with settled agriculture and are relatively numerous in Italy. Indeed before the end of the Republic new conditions arose which once more favoured stock-raising at the expense of agriculture which was all but abandoned, though horticulture and viticulture

¹ See *Præ-Italic Dialects*, ii, p. 63 (*ploum*).

remained unimpaired. Conditions in Italy, as in most Mediterranean lands, favour the intensive method of agriculture of the small freehold. Seasonal drought made "dry-farming," helped out by irrigation, necessary; and it was in regions with a dry surface soil and humid subsoil that the most ancient Mediterranean type of intensive agriculture, with a fairly dense population, originated. Thus in Iapygia and Apulia there is a littoral strip running from Barletta to Otranto which was destined to support a large population collected into an inland row of towns with corresponding dependencies to each along the coast. The horse, for long a luxury, so that the rich had to meet the obligation of furnishing cavalry in time of war, is most at home on plain lands. Hence the Messapians of Apulia, like the Veneti of the Po valley and the Sicilians, and outside Italy, the Thracians, were great raisers of horses. The sheep and the goat, on the other hand, are ubiquitous. Sheep-raising is a semi-nomadic pursuit as we have already seen (p. 16). Then a large part was played by the raising and fattening of swine, the chief supplies of pork coming from the Po valley. The ass and the mule, both easterners, were important chiefly in Liguria and southern Italy.

Food for both man and beast was for long independent of imports from abroad. Barley and spelt were used in primitive times, as indicated by their survival in sacrificial usage, and in the remains of bronze age dwellings have been found flax, beans, and two varieties of wheat as well as stone querns used for grinding grain. In historical times first the regions adjoining Latium, the country of the Hernici and Volsci, Campania, and Etruria, then Sicily and Egypt and even the districts about the Black Sea became the granaries of Rome. It was in large part the competition of cheap foreign supplies that drove out field agriculture in Italy, turning the country, as Varro tells us, almost into one vast orchard, dotted with gardens and vineyards, and hedged with scrub of evergreens, or in the north and in the southern uplands where they can be sure of the necessary rainfall, with deciduous trees.

8. CLIMATE : ITS PULSATIONS

So far little has been said about climate as such. The characteristics of the "Mediterranean" type of climate, and of the climate of lands fringing those in which it is prevalent, are well known. There is, however, an important question that has been much discussed of late, namely, whether or not within recent times, that is since the establishment of lands and seas much as we now know them, climate has been stable. It used to be held that such was the case, both for historic times and also for prehistoric times as far back as we shall follow them. But latterly the view appears to be gaining ground that climate has phases or pulses. It is not suggested that there is necessarily a marked difference in the climate of Italy as between modern and classical times specifically, but that climate shows mutations which are essentially a continuation of the great ice-age phases on a much smaller scale.¹ These recent investigations seem also to indicate that, whatever may have been the cause or causes of climatic changes during the glacial and post-glacial epochs in Europe, the influence of climate, stable or not, is at least equal to racial inheritance and other factors which have hitherto been regarded as paramount in determining the course of civilization. That changes took place during the glacial period, if only in the occurrence of warm intervals, is obvious. It is also clear that the alternation of warm and cold epochs must rigidly have weeded out the weaker elements in a people living on the fringe of the ice. But it now appears that there is a certain correlation between the location, on the one hand, of the stormy belt which intervenes between the glaciated areas and the desert and which has shifted in harmony with the advance or retreat of the ice, and the growth and spread of civilization, on the other hand, in particular parts of the surface of the earth. To put it another way, it is argued that there is a certain climatic optimum which fosters civilization and which has obtained in regions at one time highly civilized but now no longer so—perhaps even deserted. And the argument is refined so as not merely to apply to regions where human life

¹ See Brooks, C. E. P., *Climate Through the Ages*, London, 1926.

is almost insupportable or where it requires an altogether exceptional combination of time, art, and perseverance to ensure survival, much less the fulfilment of the command to "increase and multiply," but also to distinguish within regions where the climate is not unpropitious those areas which at different ages have been especially favourable to the development of civilization and general human well-being. It is not so much a question of extreme variations, contemporary or not, or even of an exigent climatic environment as compared with a more genial one, the influences of which are only too obvious, as rather of fluctuations over a period of several thousand years, in which fluctuations of civilization itself also, measured in terms either of time or of location, are known to have occurred. It would take us too far afield to examine the evidence¹ on which the arguments in favour of climatic changes since the end of the glacial period and still continuing rest. It is enough to say that to the present writer it appears to be convincing; and, without going into details, to trace merely in outline the changes that are believed to have taken place in the climate of Italy and of the Mediterranean region in general.

According, then, to these new views, in the epipalæolithic period (say from about 5000 to about 3000 B.C.), there prevailed in historic Mediterranean lands a moist, warm climate, that is designated the Atlantic or Maritime phase. This was succeeded first by the Sub-boreal or Later Forest stage, say about 2500 B.C. to 1000 B.C., which was dry and warm, a period marked by the beginnings of the Alpine lacustrine culture and ranging through the neolithic, chalcolithic, and bronze ages; and second by the Sub-Atlantic or Peat-bog stage, moist and cool, say about 850 to 400 B.C., in the iron age—the Hallstatt or early La Tène periods. Subsequently, in the middle and late La Tène period and in the Gallo-Roman, say from about 300 B.C., the climate ("recent" phase) is held to have been somewhat

¹ Briefly it falls under these heads: (1) the evidence of ruins; (2) changes in the level of salt lakes; (3) the rate of growth of old trees. Under the first it is pointed out that we have to deal with "thousands of ruined towns, waterless roads, abandoned irrigation systems, and old irrigated fields now too dry for cultivation . . . in four continents". There is also some evidence from the nature of geological deposits according to Brooks, *op. cit.*, p. 321, and (p. 330), in the advance and retrogression of glaciers.

like what it is to-day.¹ Within this general scheme there are some variations which may be further emphasized. Thus there was the dry period marked by high temperatures and low levels of water in the lakes, culminating *c.* 2200 to 2000 B.C. It was followed by a period of somewhat heavier rains, though not so wet as at present, and somewhere within it was "a high-water catastrophe, a brief regime of floods which destroyed many of the lake-dwellings". It is thought that this catastrophe may have coincided with the "great eruption of bronze age peoples of the Hungarian plain, soon after 1300 B.C." Then the lakes shrank again rapidly to a second minimum *c.* 1000 B.C. It is pointed out that there was great traffic across the Alpine passes at the end of the bronze age and in the early Hallstatt period and that in those times agriculture was possible in the Alps at places above the present level, even above passes now glaciated, so that immigration over the Alps must have been correspondingly easier, whereas the valley settlements on opposite sides of the mountains in the middle and late Hallstatt periods are relatively independent and traffic over the passes much smaller. About 850 B.C. it would seem that the lakes rose suddenly again, destroying the lake villages. The settlements in the Alps seem now to have reached a minimum and were concentrated in the warmer valleys. Here we have a wet period which advanced, with a slight break, to its maximum between 500 and 350 B.C., the time of the Gallic migration into Italy, with a revival of Alpine traffic at the late La Tène period, and then the rainfall declined once more until by the Roman period it was very little above the present. Again the period from 200 to 150 B.C. is said to stand out as a wet period, and the wanderings of the Cimbri and Teutones between 120 and 114 B.C. are ascribed to stormy and inclement conditions in Europe. In temperature the twelfth or thirteenth century B.C.,

¹ Brooks, *op. cit.*, pp. 338 ff., with Table 20 on p. 338. The reader should consult the same author's *Evolution of Climate*, London, 1922, and also Huntington, E., and Visher, S. S., *Climatic Change*, New Haven, 1922, Huntington, E., *Civilization and Climate*, ed. 3, 1924, and *World Power and Evolution*, 1920, where other evidence is offered and more minute detailed description of prehistoric climatic changes, not always so convincing, attempted, as well as an exploration of the social and agricultural history of Italy between 400 B.C. and A.D. 100, not excluding the relation between climate and the spread of malaria. But as applied to the *political* history of Rome in the same period, the theory becomes an absurd circular argument.

and again the seventh century, are supposed to have been as mild as the present, but about 900 to 850 B.C. to have been a time of relative severity. Certainly there seems to have been a great increase in wealth and population between c. 800 and 400 B.C. when the expansion of the Hallstatt and La Tène cultures coincides with expanding Mediterranean relations generally, just as at later dates there are clear signs of economic transformation of the social life of central Europe in the widespread imitation of Etruscan objects, of Massiliot coins, and still later in the creation of a mixed art of provincial Roman style along the banks of the Rhine and the Danube that accompanied the growth of population in the time of the "pax Romana".

Before we pass on to review the climate of Italy itself in more detail it may be well to consider the influence of climate on man side by side with that of other factors. There seems to be little doubt that regions of cyclonic storms such as northern Italy, where the rainfall is moderately abundant at all seasons, where there is marked variability in the weather from day to day, and where the seasons are strongly marked, have produced peoples able to lead and to dominate in the advance of civilization. These regions are favourable also to producing at their best those crops, and to raising those kinds of stock, that provide an excellent diet for man, and at the same time to endowing him with health and energy to cultivate and tend them and also to work effectively and to use the mineral resources of his habitat. Changes of climate, in their effect on economic prosperity, on political life, and on human energy, are closely linked with the general drift, westwards and northwards, of civilization in Europe since remote ages, and perhaps even with the rise and fall of nations—at least until fairly recent times in which new means of protection against severe climatic conditions have been devised. There is also a close association between variations in rainfall and human migration. At times of increased rainfall there have been movements from wet to drier regions, and at times of decreasing rainfall from dry to moister regions. In particular, those large areas which are arid but not actually desert, being too dry for extensive agriculture though yielding sufficient resources for a large nomadic population, would

become almost uninhabitable during a succession of dry years and then sent out large bodies of migrants. There is of course a time-lag between cause and effect, and this has been estimated to average about half a century.

Migration in itself becomes an important factor in determining the course of civilization, for it results often enough in the mixture of races. Moreover, the longer and more difficult a slow drifting of groups of men of unusual energy and initiative such as migration implies, sometimes amounting to a violent stream of invasion, the more vigorous a natural selection does it exercise. Human migration, however, is not the only kind of migration in which the effect of climate may be seen; the migrations of insects, of plants, and even of diseases such as malaria, all of which in turn may affect profoundly human life, are in part caused by changes of climate. Add to these the migrations of culture; the spread, by imitation and example, of inventions and discoveries, such as agriculture and new tools or new materials, and the migration of ideas and institutions, such as religions, and of languages, all of which are important in the march of civilization. Important, therefore, as racial inheritance unquestionably is, environment, which includes climate, is no less important both in the evolution of civilizations and in their decay. For the senility, lack of adaptability, luxury, change of racial inheritance, exhaustion of the soil, and other causes to which decay is ascribed are also partly dependent upon climate and its pulsations.

9. THE CLIMATE OF ITALY

What, then, are the characteristics of the energizing climate that fostered the economic, physiological, and political conditions which made possible and inevitable a climax of civilization in Augustan Italy? The optimum has been described as having "mild winters with some frosts, mild summers with the temperature rarely rising above 75° F., a constant succession of mild storms, and moderate changes of weather from day to day," and in fact Italy appears to fulfil these conditions well, or rather, if recent opinion among climatologists be accepted as trustworthy, to have fulfilled them even better in the past

than she does to-day. The southern part of the peninsula in particular has perhaps too prolonged spells of uniform weather, for variability is important. But the northern part is well within the belt of cyclonic storms and has indeed a storm area of its own a little separate from the main belt. The summers are long enough for two crops, and much of the density of the agricultural population in ancient times was due to the mountain ranges and the proximity of the sea which together ensured ample rainfall. Altogether there was that combination of level plains, deep rich soil, high mountains, abundant water all the year round, in the form either of rivers or of direct rainfall, high temperature and abundant sunshine throughout a long growing season, which at once give the physical conditions necessary to support the maximum population without too much outside help and furnish the stimulus of healthy energy in it to take full advantage of its natural environment.

What has already been said concerning the pulsations which seem to have ameliorated the climate of Italy from time to time between the palæolithic age and our own day should be borne in mind in reading the summary account of the chief features of the present-day Italian climate that follows. And let it be repeated that there is no assertion of any radical difference between that climate and the climate of (say) the last century of the Republic; all that is insisted upon is that the pre-eminence of Italy in the ancient Mediterranean world suggests that the country enjoyed a period of more stimulating conditions such as the observations made by students of climate from other evidence tend to demonstrate.

In rainfall there are contrasted regions both north and south of the Apennines and also east and west. The precipitation is greatest in or near mountainous districts, that is in the Alps and in the Apennines, and greater on the west coast than on the east. Thus Genoa has an annual rainfall of 51·7 ins., Venice only 29·5, and similarly through the whole length of the peninsula, and even in Sicily (34·2 ins. at Palermo, 20·9 at Catania). South of the Po valley the summer months are dry, the drought extending for four months (May to September) in Sicily, less in Campania and Rome, where it is broken by occasional showers and then finally for the winter by September rains, which continue,

with fine spells, into May. The temperature averages 75° to 79° F. in July, in winter it is bracing but mild, occasionally in parts of Lombardy, where conditions approach the "continental" type, severe, and a winter minimum very near to zero (F.) has been recorded at Turin. Frosts and snow indeed occur everywhere at times, but everywhere they are evanescent except in the mountains and in the Po valley, where snow may linger for a week. The dependence in ancient times upon springs, and wells, and reservoirs, or even on more extensive waterworks or aqueducts or irrigation works, shows that man could not count merely on rainfall to keep his cisterns full the year round. In central Italy the height of the mountains helps to compensate in temperature for the southern location of the land, just as the proximity of large bodies of ocean helps to compensate throughout the peninsula. Vegetation shows changes corresponding to these variations of temperature and rainfall, and nothing could be more striking than the contrast between the subtropical flora of the coasts of Calabria and the "high forest" trees of temperate zones found growing in higher altitudes but ten miles inland. And all in all, nothing testifies more clearly to the beneficence of the Italian climate than the attraction which it has exercised over northerners from severer regions ever since man has lived in Europe.

10. THE SEA

In fact the location of Italy, in the centre of the Mediterranean, provided the fundamental geographical conditions for a cosmopolitan culture (although it is to be observed that they were not fulfilled until near the end of the period of time with which this book deals), just as the Mediterranean Sea itself was a centre for the gathering and fusion of peoples and civilizations. The ocean here has served more strongly to unite than to separate. Navigation having its beginnings perhaps in the pull of fishing grounds, long remained in the Western Mediterranean almost a professional secret in the control of Phœnician and Etruscan venturers or of a few Greek cities and their colonies. The Italic peoples proper only adapted themselves to it slowly, probably because their coasts of scant subsidence

run in great long arcs, with few breaks or good harbours, so that there was no inducement to put out to sea apart from coastal fishing, as contrasted with an indented coast-line such as that of Greece which literally carried the Greeks into the arms of the sea. The whole eastern coast of Italy is hemmed in by mountains, with only river mouths to afford sailors poor refuge, except at Brindisi; and the further side of the long Adriatic became a refuge for pirates, whose contributions to civilization are negligible. Nevertheless, in the end Rome was forced to take to the sea and made her Empire of the lands which encircle it.

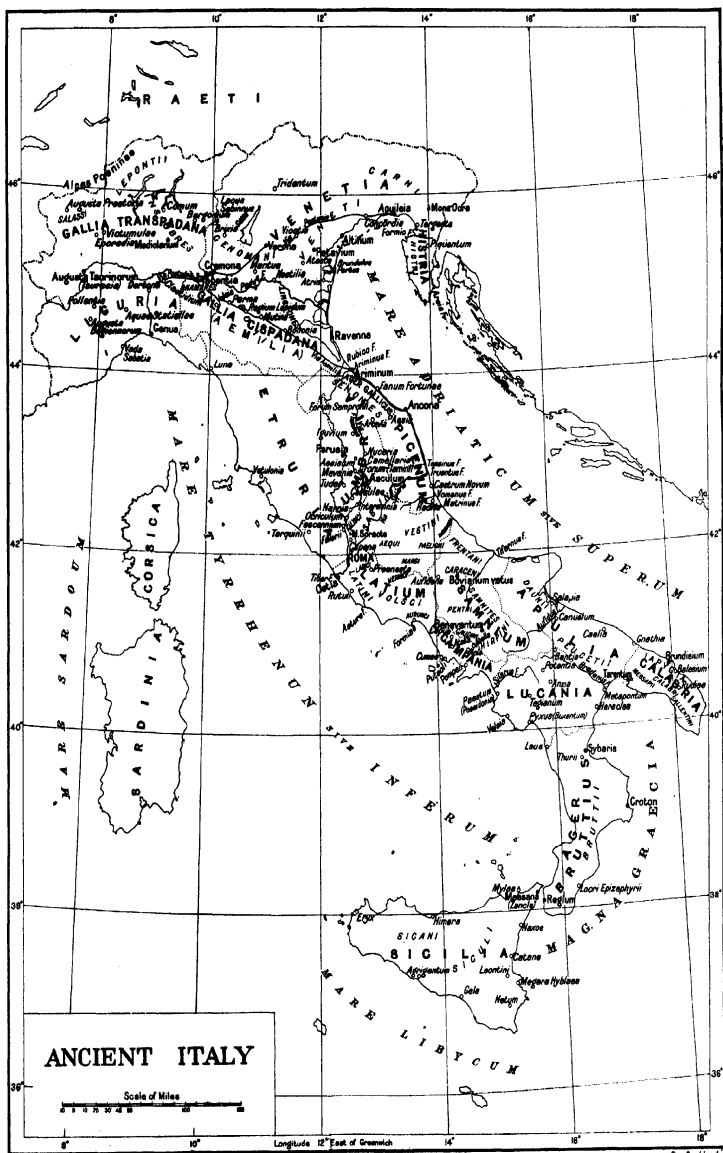
The western coast gives better accommodation at a few points, but it is more interesting for other reasons. First we have the Ligurian "riviera" where each marine village on its small bay is backed by its connecting inland settlements clambering up the steep mountain slopes. This region has always encouraged a mode of life favourable at once to family co-operation and distant ocean enterprises, to a combination of seafaring and agriculture, of orchard and marine produce. At the southern extremity the Straits of Messina present an interesting situation. Usually the power existing on one side of a strait has designs upon the other and attempts to place itself across the strait which then becomes a connecting-link, the strategic and commercial advantage of which is quickly perceived. Thus the Strait of Otranto was the scene of shuttle contacts between the Apulian peninsula and the Epirote coast. The Messapii were astride it before the Dorians colonized Corcyra and from that stepping-stone established bases at Taranto and Otranto; and later events brought Sicilian tyrants, kings of Epirus, and Roman generals in turn, to occupy this gate of the Adriatic. So the Sicilian strait between Africa and Sicily tempted the Carthaginians. But the Straits of Messina for centuries were separative in their influence. Whether or not it was the powerful currents which race between them that deterred inexperienced sailors, it is a noteworthy fact that to the very end of the native Sicel periods there is a complete breach between Sicily and Italy, despite the fact that, as we shall see, there were Sicels living in Italy as well as Sicily. Only after the founding of Greek colonies in Magna Græcia does intercourse between Sicily and the mainland begin. It was

long after that that the island became a political as well as a physical appendage of Italy. To sum up, we may say that while the boundaries of the Mediterranean preserved it as a separate entity, yet the physical features of Italy and the islands led to a marked concentration of national or quasi-national life within each segregated district, each exploiting persistently its own local resources.

Islands, in particular small islands adjoining continental or at least larger land masses, tend to become goals of expansion from the mainland and their peoples to be reduced to subjection. But if this was the eventual fate of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily, for long they remained independent of Italy; Sicily, however, to a greater degree than the other two islands, was exposed to constant external influences on all sides.

II. MODIFICATION OF ENVIRONMENT

We have now reviewed the regional environment of primitive man in Italy. The review has necessarily been related in some degree to the modern land. But, wherever possible, such differences as are clearly known between the ancient and the modern regional environment have been emphasized. There is no great difference geologically, for our enquiry does not reach back into times sufficiently remote. The probability that climate has fluctuated, with periods of superior conditions, has been noted. A serious deterioration in the environment was produced by the ravages of malaria, the introduction of which into Italy is ascribed to a change in climate, contact with Egypt, and the importation of slaves from countries where the disease was already prevalent. It is such changes in the environment that operate as powerfully as changes in the quality of a people itself, or even as changes in alien but not too distant places, to disturb the established equilibrium and so make "history". The introduction of new plants or animals, or the disappearance of long-established ones, may prove equally disturbing, and it is to be observed that there are known to have occurred many changes in the fauna and flora of Italy since prehistoric times, some quite recently. The vast changes from "African" or tropical types to "Arctic" and back again that accom-



panied the warm intervals and the descents of the ice respectively need not delay us. But as conditions began to approach what we now find in southern Europe, man witnessed the final disappearance of many animals with which he had been long familiar—at a distance; he himself remained behind to adapt himself to the new conditions. Still, however, in palæolithic times, the hippopotamus, rhinoceros, elephant, and wild horse, as well as many tropical birds and plants were not yet extinct. On the other hand, the dog, the sheep, and the goat were not yet known to him; the domestication of these, like the cultivation of cereals, millet, barley, and wheat, begins in the neolithic period. Some animals and trees again are not found all over Italy, but are proper to certain regions, for example the chamois and the larch tree, both of which are Alpine. Many fruit and nut-bearing trees were introduced comparatively late from the east, like the domestic cat. Even neolithic man in Italy had no beast of burden, and at least one variety of carriage horse (*mannus*) was introduced by the Gauls.

12. THE SUB-DIVISIONS OF OUR STUDY

It remains to say something of the territorial divisions of ancient Italy. For the oldest periods ethnic names are not available and their use is unjustifiable. Cultural divisions are the only scientific ones. Moreover, when, in the historical period, ethnic names are known to us, they are too numerous, and most of them represent territories too minutely subdivided, unless grouped together in larger cultural, or linguistic, and sometimes political entities, to provide a good or useful foundation for a description of the growth of civilization in Italy; their boundaries are frequently vague, and occasionally (in Strabo's words) not accurately definable.¹ But the physical features of the land, which in large measure determined such larger groupings, when finally Augustus came to make the first sensible division of Italy as a whole into administrative regions, usually furnished natural boundaries with which the political boundaries marched, just as those same features had also determined some of the earlier cultural divisions. And in fact the

¹ 6, 3, 8, 284 C.

limits of the eleven *regiones* of Augustus¹ correspond rather closely on the one hand with natural boundaries, on the other with older historical and cultural boundaries—with two notable exceptions, Gallia Transpadana (which, while representing more than two ethnic groups, was oddly divided into two *regiones*, one of them including Histria) and the Latini (even more oddly split up, though essentially one, between the first and the fourth *regiones*). Accordingly we shall adhere neither to a minute ethnic partition of Italy nor to the political division of Augustus, but, after a survey of the ancient peoples, cultures, and dialects of Italy (Chapters III and IV), we shall take one by one some twelve districts into which the land may conveniently be divided for the study of its pre-Roman history.

Finally attention may be called to the significance of toponymy for our study. Just as local names of New England indicate unequivocally the origins of the white settlers of that territory, so in Italy much may be gleaned from careful collections of ancient Italic local names. Not only are there numerous names in Italy which are justifiably connected with comparable names in Asia Minor and a few with names in north Africa, the former at least not merely by accident, but a survey of the ancient names as a whole indicates by the very agreement which they exhibit in formation and often in root and language (whenever their interpretation is certain), that sooner or later an essential unity of population prevailed throughout the land. Many of these correspondences will be noted, and their importance made clear, as the story of that unity is unfolded.

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¹ On these see Nissen, *Landeskunde*, II, 1902, *passim*; Beloch, J., *Italische Bund*, 1880, pp. 2 ff.; and Mommsen in *Festschrift für Heinrich Kiepert*, 1898, pp. 94 ff.

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CHAPTER III

ITALY : PREHISTORIC PEOPLES AND THEIR CIVILIZATIONS

I. A GENERAL SURVEY

THE inhabitants of pre-Roman Italy were of complex origin racially as well as linguistically and culturally. The greater part by far in this complex sum-total of the population belonged to what is known as the "Mediterranean" race, members of which have occupied Italy since the neolithic period. These, as we shall see, were neither the first human inhabitants of the peninsula nor its sole inhabitants in the period that we shall study. But the descendants, if any, of older types of man were so few in number and so scattered and isolated as to be insignificant; and the two races which from time to time in greater or smaller numbers have penetrated Italy from the east and north, "Alpine" and "Nordic" man, have always found it a stronghold of Mediterranean man whose better adaptation to the Italian environment enabled him to absorb and to survive the invaders, especially the Nordic. Tiny Semitic trading settlements likewise failed to make any permanent impression, and other settlers in Italy, whether Etruscan or Greek or Illyrian or Keltic, belonged to one or other of the three great races already named. At all periods, therefore, even in the most remote times in which we have any information of its human population, sparse as that then was, the soil of Italy has been the dwelling-place of men not at all "autochthonous" or "aboriginal," but belonging to more or less widely distributed types or races, other representatives of which are found in neighbouring lands on both sides of the Mediterranean sea; and in the last millennium B.C., as ever since and for long before, the elements of population most important racially

and in other ways, as well as the most numerous, are not descended from the most ancient inhabitants of the land.

Just as racial relationships are traceable between man in Italy and man in adjoining lands, so also the successive civilizations which prevailed in prehistoric days in different parts of the peninsula, much as they came to develop their own distinguishing features, generally show at some stage or other definite links, or when these are lacking, at least clear analogies with contemporary or but slightly older civilizations in other lands. It is, indeed, chiefly on the basis of the general likeness, for example, of the bronze age culture in northern Italy and in the Danubian region, that both migration from that region and a long-sustained period of contact with it are assumed. Again at a later date the invasion of Italy by other new-comers from the same region in the early iron age is deduced from like evidence. Once more, during the bronze age, it is clear that Sicily, but not Italy, was in close touch with centres of Mycenaean culture. In this case, however, it is not a question of migration, but rather of contacts due to maritime trade that helped to stimulate and direct the evolution of the Sikel bronze age. The more isolated groups that occupied the regions south of Lucania were not exempt from external influence, Greek on the eastern side, Campanian on the west, although apparently they were out of touch with Sicily. And finally the Umbro-Picene group on the Adriatic coast, in some ways the most individual of all the early iron age groups, whose builders have been regarded as descended from neolithic settlers, owed much to Histria and the Balkan regions and later on also to Greece.

When the record of language becomes available, it reveals a state of affairs that agrees exactly with what anthropology and archæology would lead us to expect. There is no ancient dialect of Italy known to us of which it can be said that it has not been brought into the peninsula from elsewhere. Apart from Etruscan inscriptions, and a single Phœnician inscription on a silver bowl with ornament of altogether exotic character, found at Præneste,¹ there is nothing that cannot be considered Indo-European, and no one supposes that the Indo-European languages were evolved in Italy. The assertion is sometimes

¹ *C.I.S.*, Pars I, Tom. 1, no. 164, p. 214.

made that there are place-names of pre-Indo-European origin in Italy, but it is supported by no convincing evidence. In Sicily it is not improbable that in local names such as *Acessa*, *Litessa*, *Sinoessa*, *Uessa*, *Inessa* and *Telmessus*, *Herbessus*, *Crimissus*, the familiar *-ss-* formant, which in Greece and Asia Minor is recognized as pre-Indo-European, marks a very ancient stratum of languages of wide expansion in Mediterranean lands, but it is not so clear that the *-nt-* formant in names like *Tarentum*, *Piquentum*, and *Tridentum* on the mainland or in Illyricum is to be connected with *-nth-* in Greek and Anatolian names. An alleged Sican inscription is too dubious to be admitted as evidence, and if there is any indigenous element in Etruscan (as some hold), there is also present in it a very large, foreign, non-Indo-European, but for Italy not pre-Indo-European, element. All that we know of any dialects to which the names Ligurian or Sicel can justly be attached is unequivocally Indo-European, even if we should conclude that in the former case at least we have to do with a people that had given up, in favour of Indo-European speech, some other tongue—a conclusion of which there is no direct or indirect proof. For the rest, there is the record of a number of Indo-European dialects, either of the Italic group proper or of other groups, which indicate both the movement of Indo-European-speaking peoples into Italy—perhaps from Danubian regions—in prehistoric times, and also their relationship to external but neighbouring groups of certain Indo-European-speaking tribes living on frontier districts of Italy, where they had established linguistic enclaves and transitions that are quite as clear as the cultural. Last of all, Greek and Keltic-speaking settlements come within the province of written history.

2. PALÆOLITHIC MAN IN ITALY

Even the most ancient human inhabitants of Italy had the faculty of speech.¹ But nothing whatever is known of the characteristics of their language. It is in fact disputed exactly how ancient in Italy man is. The land itself was habitable for

¹ They were also right-handed, but it is not certain that the faculty of speech was linked with right-handedness at this early date.

man, though it had not yet completely assumed its present formation, by pliocene times at the end of the "Tertiary" geological period. But though man was then possible, evidence for his existence is scanty. There is a skull of Neanderthal type found near Rome; and human remains found at Castanedolo in the province of Brescia and at Olmo in the province of Arezzo have been accepted by very high authority as contemporary with pliocene deposits, but equally high authority rejects this classification. If it were established, it would mean that man of the same negroid type, supposed to be of African origin, as is already known in various parts of glacial Europe, lived in some parts of Italy at this remote epoch. When, however, we come to pleistocene times of the so-called "Quaternary" period the evidence is beyond dispute. Not only actual skeletal remains, but also stone implements of the palæolithic Chellean and Mousterian types, have been found. The former, so far as they also belong to the palæolithic age, come from Ligurian caves; the latter from the same and other parts of Italy and at least the Mousterian also from Sicily. It is true that the precise attribution of the human bones from the Balzi Rossi caves (on the frontier, between Ventimiglia and Mentone) has been much debated; yet, even if these burials are themselves early neolithic, the greater part of the other material excavated with them is unquestionably palæolithic in type. It is therefore certain that this region of Italy had its human inhabitants at that period. There is, indeed, something to be said, from the anthropological point of view, for regarding the Balzi Rossi skeletons as representatives of such inhabitants, even on the supposition that their race survived here and there into neolithic times. For racially, though a distinct class, they belong to a general type of tall, long headed, Eurafrian man with negroid characteristics, marked steatopygy, and skulls of large capacity. The home of this race, to which Grimaldi and Cro-Magnon man in southern France also belong, and of which the Castanedolo and Olmo remains, if authentic, would represent a much older but parallel stock, is placed in Africa, whence it is held to have migrated to Europe across Spain. The Ligurian specimens, again if accepted as palæolithic, would represent a migration which is fully established there by the middle of the "Quaternary"

period or a little later and is accompanied by characteristic pleistocene fauna, including the hippopotamus, the cave hyaena and cave bear and species of elephant and rhinoceros, the reindeer being still rare or coming in definitely later. Doubtful, then, as actual human specimens assigned to palæolithic man in Italy are, the abundant non-human remains (to be described below) afford ample evidence of his existence. In any event, the race of the men who left those remains may be presumed to have been that to which the human remains are assigned by those who accept them as contemporary, namely the archaic Eurafrican.

3. THE NEOLITHIC PERIOD

The difficulties and problems which the palæolithic period presents are not without some bearing on the views which have been held by anthropologists and archaeologists alike concerning neolithic man in Italy. There now appears a race known as Mediterranean (the name was given to it by the Italian anthropologist Giuseppe Sergi) which takes the stage in every part of the land in neolithic times and continued to hold it in most parts in the prolonged chalcolithic period despite the intrusion of a new stock at that time. In fact, Mediterranean man is still the dominant type, especially in Liguria, and in modern Italy has become again more numerous even in those regions, such as the eastern Po valley, where during the early ages of metal Alpine man was most firmly established. Although several groups can be distinguished, for example the Ligurian, which was least affected by the subsequent type, and that of Novilara, which is characterized by its extremely narrow head and long narrow face, these groups are subdivisions of the race, not separate races. Its features are well known: dark complexion and hair, shading off into brunette, narrow head, long face, medium or short stature. Until recently Sergi's view that in Italy this race was a race of invaders has hardly been questioned. Its original home is again supposed to have been in Africa, according to Sergi in east Africa, whence it spread into north Africa and Europe, reaching Italy by two routes, a northerly through Liguria from Spain and southern France, and a southerly through Sicily where (as also in Sardinia) it is as

dominant as in Italy. Other parts of the Mediterranean world, in which Mediterranean man is everywhere at home, were entered by an easterly route and hence, again according to Sergi, the Etruscans, when they came to Italy at a comparatively late date from Asia Minor, did not introduce a new racial stock but only a variety of this same type of man.

But in recent years the widely accepted view that neolithic man, who unquestionably is of the Mediterranean type, was an invader from outside Italy has been challenged. Previously it had been held that whatever race or races had lived in Italy in the palæolithic age vanished without leaving any descendants, or at least survived only in a few isolated and scattered localities. Such is Sergi's own account. He maintained that the variety of tall Eurafrican man known from the caves of Liguria was a branch of the human race that was lopped off, surviving just to the verge of the neolithic period, but not later into that period. On the other hand, it is now claimed that there are clear survivals of palæolithic types of man in several parts of western Europe as well as of palæolithic implements in a few places in Italy itself, especially at some sites north of Verona, and that there are transitional phases between palæolithic and neolithic culture in France and elsewhere. In particular we may note the discovery at La Maiella (between Sulmona and Chieti) of a burial of a date so early in the neolithic period that the skeleton which it contained, Mediterranean in type, was counted by its discover "pre-neolithic" in date.¹ We have also seen that the classification of certain other human remains, as between the two stone ages, is extremely problematical: perhaps, then, the difficulties which they raise may disappear as the evidence for survival and transition from the old to the new becomes clearer and stronger.

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that from the anthropological point of view there is no real continuity of descent in Italy, but rather a gap, before the neolithic period, and the argument from cultural continuity elsewhere, which has been accepted by the critics of Sergi's views, is at least of doubtful validity in its application to Italy. Certainly there are marked

¹ Rellini in *Atti della Società dei Naturalisti . . . di Modena*, ser. V, vol. 1, 1914, and *B.P.I.*, xl, 1914, pp. 30 ff., 95 ff.

KEY TO MAP 4

<i>Stone Age</i>		PAGE			NO.
1.	Castanedolo	47	Arquè		28
2.	Olmo	47	Balzi Rossi		3
3.	Balzi Rossi	47, 56	Bradoni, Mte		12
4.	La Maiella	49, 56	Caldare		38
5.	Vibrata	56	Caltagirone		41
6.	Gargano	56	Capaci		21
7.	Molfetta	58	Cassibile		39
8.	Matera	58	Castanedolo		1
9.	Stentinello	60	Castellaccio, Mte		31
10.	Matrensa	60	Castellazzo di Fontanellato		29
11.	Villafrati	61	Castelluccio		17
<i>Chalcolithic Period</i>			Coarezza		23
12.	Monte Bradoni	62	Coppa della Nevigata		36
13.	Remedello	62	Fimone		27
14.	Pantelleria	63	Gargano		6
15.	Sgurgola	63	Lonato, Mte		30
16.	La Mussina	64	Maiella, La		4
17.	Castelluccio	65	Marendole		33
18.	Panesella	65	Matera		8
19.	Moarda	66	Matrensa		10
20.	Monte Racello	67	Moarda		19
21.	Capaci	68	Molfetta		7
<i>Bronze Age</i>			Monza		24
22.	Rogoredo	70	Mussina, La		16
23.	Coarezza	70	Offida		32
24.	Monza	70	Olmo		2
25.	Polada	71	Panesella		18
26.	Peschiera	71	Pantalica		40
27.	Fimone	71	Pantelleria		14
28.	Arquè	71	Pertosa, Grotta di		34
29.	Castellazzo di Fontanellato	72	Peschiera		26
30.	Monte Lonato	75	Plemmirio		42
31.	Monte Castellaccio	78	Polada		25
32.	Offida	78	Racello, Mte		20
33.	Marendole	78	Remedello		13
34.	Grotta di Pertosa	79	Rogoredo		22
35.	Taranto	80	Sgurgola		15
36.	Coppa della Nevigata	80	Stentinello		9
37.	Thapsos	82	Taranto		35
38.	Caldare	82	Thapsos		37
39.	Cassibile	82	Vibrata		5
40.	Pantalica	83	Villafrati		11
41.	Caltagirone	83			
42.	Plemmirio	84			



MAP 4.—SITES OF THE STONE AND BRONZE AGES

somatic contrasts between Grimaldi or Aurignacian man and Mediterranean man. It seems wiser, therefore, for the present, not to abandon the positive findings of the purely anthropological method pursued by Sergi, while not defending his assertion of the complete disappearance of the Grimaldi type, or forgetting the warning of the most recent anthropological studies¹ against rash assumptions of "pure" unmixed prehistoric races. By neolithic times the pleistocene fauna gradually had become extinct in western Europe, Italy included, to be succeeded by fauna essentially the same as in classical and modern times.

4. ALPINE AND DANUBIAN INVADERS

Very clearly distinguished from Mediterranean man is a race of invaders that penetrated Italy, chiefly by Alpine routes, from an early date in the chalcolithic period, its arrival in fact coinciding with the introduction of metal, for which it was presumably responsible, as well as with a change in the funerary rite. This race, generally known as "Alpine" from its concentration in the Alpine region, though it is by no means limited to it and Sergi's theory of its origin led him to describe it by a different name ("Eurasian"), at first seems to have filtered slowly, so to speak, into Italy, but the process was a steady one and in time the infiltration became a flood, a large-scale migration in full course, contemporaneous with the development of the full bronze age. Towards the end of this same age, invasion was renewed from the same sources in central Europe and in the Danube valley, and by the same general stock though apparently by tribes not directly related to the older invaders. Such at least is a reasonable interpretation² of such varieties of culture as developed with the rapid expansion of cremating peoples from the Po valley, where they were ever most numerous

¹ Perhaps another caution prompted by the reading of these may be uttered here: it is difficult to avoid the impression that prehistoric ethnologists, whenever only fragmentary and scattered material is available, as in dealing with palæolithic man, are only too apt to regard as racial characteristics what after all may have been nothing more than individual peculiarities. Thus, a short-headed type has been found in palæolithic Spain, so that at least that part of Sergi's theory which brought neolithic short-headed man from Asia (there are also other objections to it) is no longer accepted.

² See Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, Oxford, 1924, *passim*, and especially pp. 91 ff.

and most firmly entrenched, and where a large percentage of the population still shows the same racial type, into Tuscany, Latium, where we shall find them at Rome, and into central Italy, and sporadically further south. Other views have been current. That which rejected the theory of an early invasion at the initiation of the chalcolithic age is so ill-founded and so open to objection that it now possesses hardly more than historical interest. But it is still not absolutely certain that another theory, which rejects the later invasions from the north, at the end of the bronze age, and ascribes not only transitional types of culture intermediate between the bronze and the early iron ages, but also the early iron age civilization itself, to descendants of the older invaders, has been finally driven from the field. Anthropologically there is not much to choose between the two opposing views, for according to both we are dealing with invaders of the same racial stock, though of different dates and perhaps of different varieties. As to this last distinction, it is impossible to dogmatize: for obviously nothing can be said of the characteristics of the skulls and other bones of men whose practice it was to burn their dead. It is partly from evidence of later date, when this practice was gradually abandoned, partly from the relative distribution of Alpine and Mediterranean man in Italy in comparatively recent times, when the former is found persisting chiefly in those areas in which civilizations subsequent to the neolithic were first established and from which they were distributed, and partly from the racial character of the inhabitants of those parts of central Europe whence the new civilizations were fundamentally derived, that the physical features of Alpine man in Italy are deduced: the high, short, round head-form, broad cheek-bones and square jaw, thick build and moderate stature, sallow complexion and dark, brown hair. It was presumably by men of such a type that, except in Liguria and the west, the whole of north Italy was wrested from Mediterranean man, with the result that it has a very different history from the southern part of the peninsula. The old unity of the population was permanently broken, and, in due course, the two races intermingled and worked out their destiny together.

The expansion of Alpine man south of the Po valley, into Tuscany, Latium, and here and there into Campania—but not into Liguria, Calabria, Sicily, or Sardinia, nor along the Adriatic coast south of Rimini, all of which he left untouched—was partly in the nature of colonization. It is not the only colonial expansion in Italy. We should note the Etruscan settlements, beginning about 800 B.C., and their subsequent expansion outside Etruria proper; the Greek colonies of Magna Græcia; and the Phœnician plantations in Sicily and Sardinia. But these introduced no new racial element, for they were all the work of peoples whose chief ethnic make-up was some variety or other of Mediterranean man.¹ On the other hand, the Gallic invasions brought a new type of man into Italy—tall, fair or red-haired, with blue or grey eyes. These, however, like the even less momentous incursion of the Cimbri and Teutones from Germany, produced no lasting impression on the racial composition of the population, though the latter at least must have been pure “Nordic” in race. It remains only to observe that after the initial phases of the early iron age the tendency was towards the steady incorporation of all these new-comers into the main mass of the population as already constituted, and also of the older Alpine groups into the substantial Mediterranean stratum, until at last the way was prepared for Rome to make the first attempt to fuse the several tribes of Italy into an Italian nation.

5. CULTURAL REMAINS

From the evidence of physical anthropology we pass to that of prehistoric archæology, from man in Italy to his cultural remains, contenting ourselves at this point with describing the known facts of civilization and still refraining, as hitherto, from the use of later tribal names as also from any combination of the anthropological or archæological with the linguistic data. At the outset it may be noted that the successive periods which archæologists distinguish by the names of palæolithic

¹ For the evidence from Etruria see G. Sergi, *Italia: le origini*, pp. 137 ff., where it is pointed out (pp. 140, 146) that the effect of Etruscanization meant racially a blending of the Mediterranean and Alpine stocks, the actual Etruscan invaders being few in comparison with the previous inhabitants.

and the like should not be thought of as sharply cut off from one another. On the contrary, the evidence is becoming clearer year by year that in many parts of Europe the intervening period of time, even between palæolithic and neolithic culture, is not to be counted an unfilled gap, but rather a transitional period in which palæolithic was dying out and neolithic coming into being. It is by no means the case, however, that the latter was a development of the former, and in Italy it is still true to say that the intervening period, to which the name of "epi-palæolithic" or "mesolithic" has been given, remains something of a gap. For the survival of the barbarous food-gathering tribes that made and used implements of the palæolithic type such as have been found in one or two isolated valleys in Italy, contemporaneous with the full neolithic culture, amounts only to an indication of mere remnants and nothing more. But after the neolithic period had once begun, we have a continuous occupation of Italy by much further advanced tribes, and despite all the shocks and disturbances created by the inroads of new arrivals at subsequent dates, and despite all the migratory movements within the peninsula itself, the story is in the main one of steady development, neolithic merging into chalcolithic and this into the full bronze age culture. In some parts, indeed, notably in Liguria, even the transition from bronze to iron was accomplished without any abrupt changes. Even where the transition was accompanied by an upheaval that perhaps can be compared only with the introduction of European civilization into North America, still there are indications of a bridge,¹ so to speak, spanning the two ages which justifies us in assuming that the gap between them, for all its obscurity at present, does not mean that the bronze age was suddenly cut short and the iron age as suddenly inaugurated. Finally, within the iron age itself, its successive stages, notwithstanding the innovations that separate, for example, the Second Benacci and the Arnoaldi periods, merge more or less naturally into one another. In any event, it is convenient to retain the established descriptive labels.

¹ In the transitional sites of Bismantova, Fontanella, Pianello, Timmari, sites which are so widely separated from one another as to be doubly important for our purpose.

6. PALÆOLITHIC OBJECTS

Implements representative of palæolithic industries in Italy are so far only of the types known in France as Chellean and Mousterian—perhaps also at La Maiella (Abruzzi) the intermediate Acheulean. The first-named, which seems to have had a long life in Italy and not to have been brought at once to an end by the introduction of neolithic methods of grinding and polishing is sporadically though widely distributed. It is known

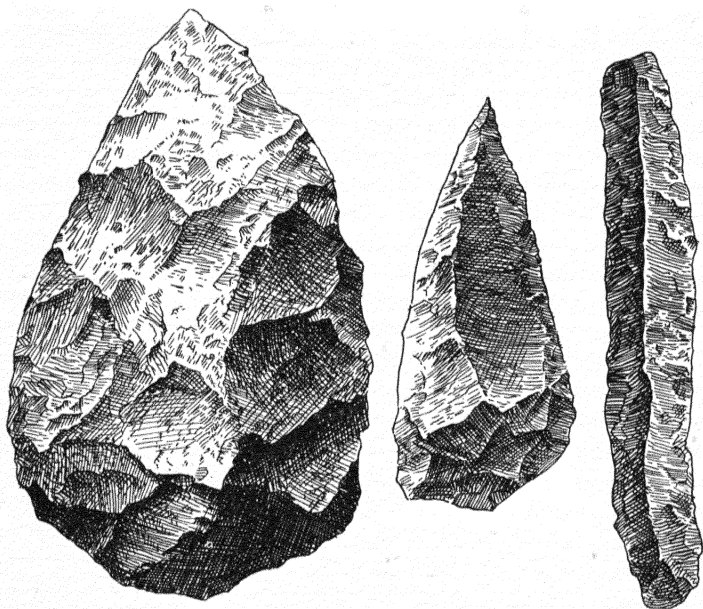


FIG. 1.—Palæolithic Implements.

from various sites in the Abruzzi (notably in the valley of the Vibrata) and the Marche, in Umbria, Emilia, Venetia, and Liguria; on the Gargano promontory, on the island of Capri, and also in Sicily. The Mousterian, which evidently flourished side by side with the Chellean, appears also in the Vibrata valley and again in Liguria (Balzi Rossi), Emilia, the Gargano, the Abruzzi, in Sicily, and from the neighbourhood of Rome.

The survival of palæolithic types into neolithic times especially in Liguria and in the Veronese we have already noted (pp. 47, 49). The life of the men who chipped and flaked these flint or quartzite implements, fist-hatchets, points, scrapers, borers, knives, and the like, was, judged even by neolithic standards, extremely meagre. They were gatherers of food, nuts and wild berries; they were hunters and fishers who lived in caves, with no knowledge of agriculture or pottery, with no domesticated animals, except perhaps the dog; they practised no particular burial rites. And their survivors were so few and so scattered that any effect which they may have had upon the development of neolithic man is practically negligible. Neolithic and all the succeeding civilizations to our own day are, it is true, in a sense the heirs of palæolithic invention and ingenuity; but even in neolithic times man's way of life had been so far transformed that it had more in common with that of Augustan than of palæolithic Italy.

7. NEOLITHIC OBJECTS

It is only a conjecture that the puzzling burials in the upper levels of the Ligurian caves are to be explained as "epipalæolithic". We may, therefore, pass on at once to neolithic remains, which occur in all parts of Italy and Sicily, and which, despite strong local differentia, such as the bone arrow-heads and spear-heads of Liguria, yet show certain characteristics in common. Neolithic stone implements are ground or polished; they are found associated with pottery of various degrees of fineness, often carefully decorated, but still hand-fashioned, and baked in open fires, the products of men who lived in villages of huts—notably in Emilia, or still in caves—notably in Liguria. Their life was doubtless passed mainly in the open, for they were hunters and pastoralists, with domesticated animals—the ox, sheep, goat, horse, and the ass, not yet agriculturists, though they prepared berries and nuts and seeds and the like for food by grinding. And they practised, in common with neolithic man in Europe generally, an elaborate funerary rite which is held to show that they had also the conception of a future life, though it is hardly justifiable to describe the rare

figurines from the Ligurian cave Arene Candide as "idols". The burial rite, inhumation, is characterized by the interment of the body in intentional postures—contracted or squatting—sometimes in trenches or in stone-lined graves, of various shapes, square, rectangular or ellipsoidal, and often with definite orientation, and by the provision of equipment for existence after death—this equipment not infrequently being deliberately broken. In many instances the practice of *scarnitura*, that is of stripping the flesh from the bones before final interment (for it often implies secondary burial following decomposition), and the disarticulation that resulted, are noteworthy and associated with a custom of painting the bones with red ochre. Or the ochre would be sprinkled in the grave, or a pot of it left

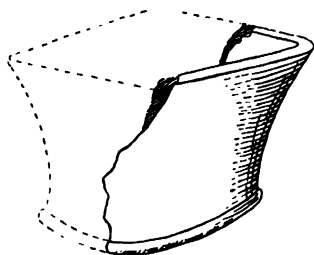


FIG. 2.—Square-mouthed Cup.

near at hand. In lifetime, so it would appear, it was common to imprint patterns on the body, the same substance being used, for stamps (*pintadera*) are commonly found, at least in the Ligurian caves and occasionally elsewhere. The polished stone implements of this period include many made of jadeite or other green stone, but some objects, though certainly of local manufacture, were produced from materials that must have been imported, for example obsidian, and this implies trade relations of some sort, for even primitive man expected his *quid pro quo*. Besides flints and stone objects, there are also many of bone, borers, and polishers; and above all, quite distinctive types of pottery from the square-mouthed type, peculiar to Liguria, to the polished decorated ware of Apulia and Sicily.

Neolithic cave-dwellers, for the caves were still dwelling-places as well as burial-places, are known from their remains not only in Liguria, but also from the Apuan Alps in Tuscany (where the *pintadera* is absent, and where there are marked differences in the pottery), in the Vibrata valley again, and in Apulia at Molfetta and Matera. With these last we reach a



FIG. 3.—Neolithic Pottery (Sicily and Apulia).

fairly clear dividing-line between south Italy and regions to the north. The Apulian pottery, stamped or incised or ornamented by other semi-mechanical means and usually covered with a slip and then polished and often painted in addition or provided with a white filling, has certain analogies both in designs and pattern on the one hand with the pottery of Stentinello and Matrensa in Sicily, on the other with that of Balkan regions and the suggestion has been made that in Apulia at least it may have been imitated from originals imported from across the Adriatic. If so, perhaps eastern Sicily and Apulia may have inherited a common tradition, though certain Apulian types may have been derived from Sicily. It cannot be said that Sicily was in touch in neolithic times with this part of the mainland, but it is certain that a civilization prevailed there different from that of north Italy at the same period.

The neolithic huts, or rather hut-foundations, for the huts themselves have vanished, are found chiefly in Reggio-Emilia and in the long stretch of the eastern Adriatic slopes from Ancona to Bari. These habitations, which in the neolithic period are not to be regarded as necessarily later in date than the cave-dwellings, were of various patterns, circular, elliptical, or where two or more were joined together, of a figure-eight or a wild-rose pattern. Sometimes traces of the piles which supported the upper structure of branch work covered with skins, or of wattle and daub, are found. Again the huts were built sometimes over hollowed foundations in the ground, sometimes on the surface, but regularly in villages or rows. This arrangement implies some sort of organized social life. At Matera what seem to have been defensive trenches were also discovered. Yet it seems unlikely that the cave-dwellers and the hut-dwellers are to be regarded as forming other than a homogeneous people possessing a homogeneous civilization. And attempts to distinguish chronological subdivisions, at least on the mainland, have not been successful: we observe rather a gradual advance from early to late neolithic culture, indicated, for example, by the comparative lateness of arrow-heads, or of pottery ornamented with incised bands and stripes, the latter indeed bringing us to the verge of the chalcolithic period.

In Sicily, be it repeated, there is a marked contrast with the

mainland. Here, though again we have both caves and huts used for human habitation and the former also for burial, it is possible to distinguish in the neolithic period between an earlier group of settlements in the district of Syracuse, particularly Stentinello, Matrensa, and near the site of the ancient Megara Hyblæa, and a later group chiefly in the district of Palermo. Both similarities with Cretan neolithic ware and differences from it make the often-repeated suggestion of contact between neolithic Sicily and the Ægean somewhat dubious, though it is reasonable enough to suppose that Sicily and southern Italy may well have been open to Mediterranean influences which did not reach northern Italy. But it is by no means certain, even at Stentinello, that agriculture had yet reached Sicily. More likely is the suggestion that at Villafrati (near Palermo), where the later culture is exemplified, should be seen in the bell-beakers found there (and also in the short-headed element in its population) evidence of contact with (dare we say invasion from?) Spain. The peculiar "geometrical" flints, common everywhere in Italy, are absent from Sicily as from Sardinia. The neolithic inhabitants of the last-named island are thought to be descended from invaders who arrived by sea and to have planted their first settlements on high ground around the site of Cagliari. Once more obsidian objects, found there in large quantity, betoken external trade.

8. THE CHALCOLITHIC PERIOD

There is distinguished as a chalcolithic age an intermediate period between the stone ages and the full bronze age, that is a period in which metal, properly pure copper, has made its appearance. There are other distinguishing marks, and within this long period of "good cheap stone and bad expensive copper" used concurrently are classified settlements too advanced to be counted truly neolithic, but not advanced far enough to be counted truly of the bronze age. It is a prolonged stage of development not only on the mainland, but also in Sicily, where it includes the period Sicel I, though it must be remembered that the chalcolithic period there is not strictly contemporaneous, but somewhat later than in Italy.

The stone industry itself made further advances, flint being still, as in the preceding age, the most usual substance, and flint arrow-heads are very common in the funeral furniture of the graves of this period,—except in the Ligurian and Sicilian caves. Metal objects are regularly made of pure copper, any small

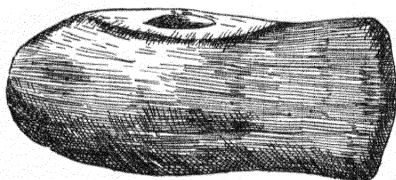


FIG. 4.—Stone Hammer-axe.

admixture of tin being probably accidental. But tin buttons were turned up in excavations of burials conducted in a cave on Monte Bradoni near Volterra, the funerary use of this metal indicating that it was considered

precious, and at the famous station of Remedello (in the province of Brescia) a silver pin was found. Characteristic of the age are also the first stone implements with holes through them for handles, both hammer axes and club heads; the trench graves (as at Remedello, but prevalent from Brescia

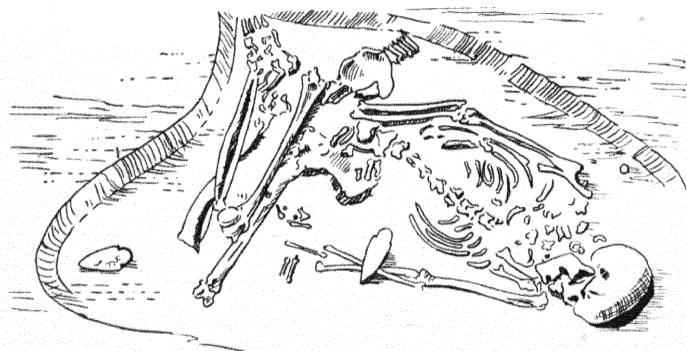


FIG. 5.—Trench-grave (Remedello).

to Samnium), ovoid in shape, with a recess for the folded legs, and arranged in rows; and the rock-hewn graves common in central and southern Italy and the islands, which are an innovation of the chalcolithic period. Finally the megalithic monuments, dolmens, and menhirs, again peculiar to the south

and the islands, to which doubtless the *sesi* of Pantelleria and the *nuraghi* and so-called "giants' graves" of Sardinia should be considered allied, may be assigned to the same period.¹

But despite these novelties, the whole period must be regarded as one of continuous and unbroken development from

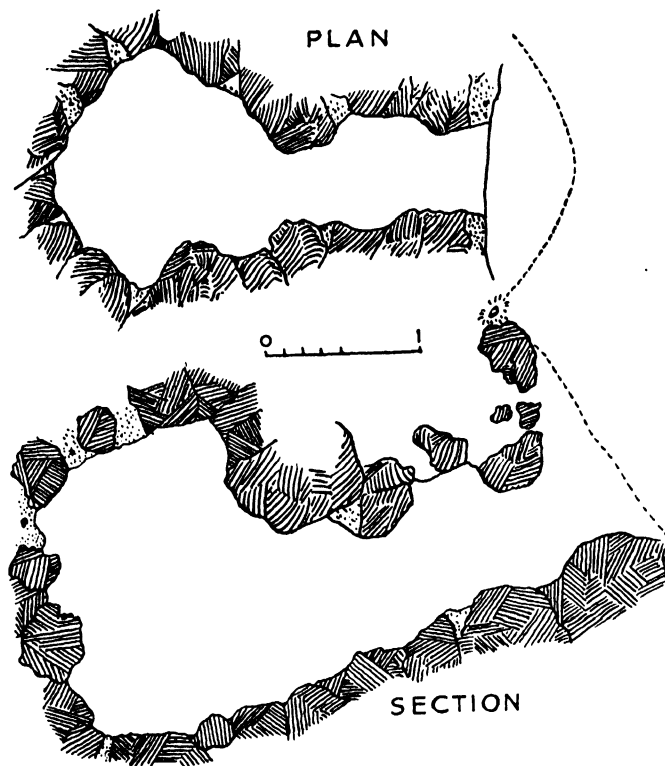


FIG. 6.—Rock-hewn Grave (Sicily).

the neolithic age. Beside the new kinds of tomb cave-burial also persists, and the funerary rite is essentially preserved from the preceding period, with oriented inhumation, grave furniture—weapons and ornaments, the use of red ochre (at Sgurgola,

¹ The last-named group of monuments will be described in Chapter XVI.

in the province of Rome), contracted position, and with *scarnitura* and disarticulation by no means unknown. Slight innovations indeed there are, but they are no more than variations of the old methods, and an alleged instance of partial cremation at La Mussina (Reggio Emilia) is highly dubious.¹ Habitation



FIG. 7.—Dolmen at Terra d'Otranto.

was, as before, in villages of huts and here and there perhaps in caves—certainly in Liguria and in Histria. Again one of the most salient facts is the strong contrast between south Italy and the north, and between Sicily and the other islands and the mainland. Sardinia in fact has its own distinctive

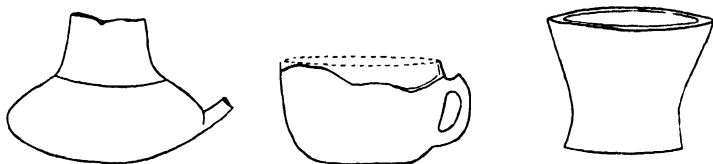


FIG. 8.—Chalcolithic Pottery-forms.

features which suggest more direct communication with the source from which new pottery forms in particular were distributed. These new forms in Sardinia, however, appear side by side with patterns continued from neolithic types as on the mainland, which is homogeneous by contrast, despite its various local groups.

¹ See the discussion in Peet, pp. 197 f.

There is no question that extensive and active trading relations had been established before the end of the chalcolithic period. The bone ornaments discovered at Castelluccio (south-west of Syracuse) which have so often been reproduced as to be well known, are held to be importations from the Ægean since an exactly similar object has been found at Troy (the second city at Hissarlik). Blocks of raw copper unearthed in Sicily and Sardinia are held similarly to have been imported from Cyprus, though the possibility of influence both from Spain and Hungary upon worked copper forms, both of celts and daggers, and the probability of such influence from Crete, must not be excluded. Some contact between early western lake-dwellers and chalcolithic neighbours in north Italy is indicated by the discovery of a mattock of stag's horn at Panesella (near Volongo, south of the Lago di Garda). In short, three



FIG. 9.—Bone Ornament (Castelluccio).

distinct trade-routes of the chalcolithic period have been made out: (1) an Ægeo-Ligurian route which ran from the Ægean through south Italy and Sicily to Sardinia and Liguria; (2) a more extensive Mediterranean route of which that was but part; and (3) a distinct Adriatic route coming across to south-eastern Italy from the north-western Balkans. In such trading relationships, rather than in the "Pelasgian" immigration of ancient tradition (though it is possible that trading ventures may have been given that form in the tradition), is to be found the explanation of the progress and innovations which mark the entire period. It is no revolutionary movement, but a gradual infiltration of new models and methods to accompany and in time to supplant the old ones. Special mention may be made of the two "beaked jugs" (of Ægean derivation) found in Sardinia, and of the spiral decoration on grave-slabs at Castelluccio which again points to the Ægean. On the other

hand, the development of the flat celt into the flanged celt points as clearly to the beginning of relations with central Europe.

Typical, perhaps, of the situation are the copper daggers



FIG. 10.—Block of Raw Copper (Sardinia).

which fall into two distinct classes, those which are developed from flint prototypes and those which, if not imported, are at least imitated from imported exemplars. Note, for example, leaf-shaped specimens with tang, and specimens with rounded or straight base, with rivet holes, and with a vertical rib. So also, side by side with new forms of pottery such as the bell-beaker that accompanies "megalithic" culture, according to current theory, from the west, that is from Spain, are clear survivals of older types. As for the painted bichrome Sicilian ware, characteristic of the period, it seems that hardly enough consideration has been given to a further development

of the older neolithic motives (as at Moarda and Stentinello) or to the relative chronology of the similar styles in Apulia, so that perhaps in the comparison of the Sicilian with the Apulian wares is to be found the best explanation of the former yet

offered.¹ Conspicuous, nevertheless, are the "hour-glass" and high-handled forms, and the precise affiliations of chalcolithic

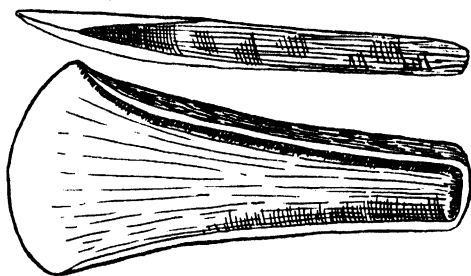


FIG. 11.—Copper-flanged Celt.

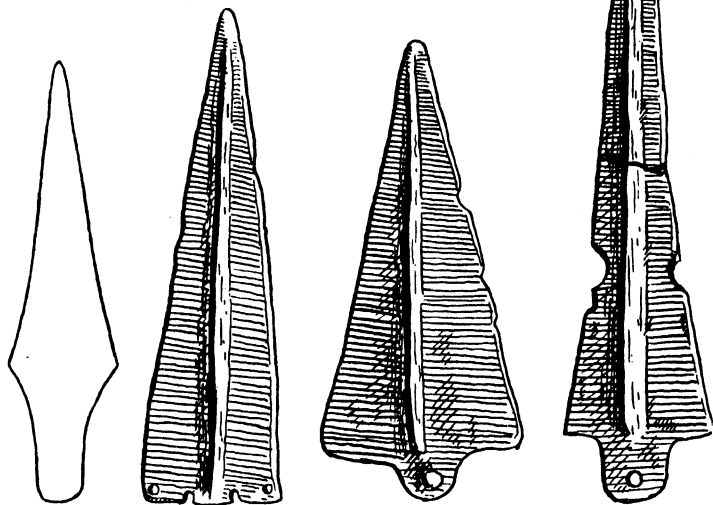


FIG. 12.—Copper Daggers.

Sicilian pottery remain to be discovered. The large water-tubs, also found in Sicily, for example, at Monte Racello (west of Castelluccio), are part of the equipment for a banquet with which the

¹ Cf. Mayer, *Molfetta und Matera*, *passim*. For other suggestions see Peet, pp. 215 ff. (Thessaly); Childe, *Dawn of European Civilization*, p. 94 (Early Helladic); Myres in *C.A.H.* I, p. 97 (North Africa).

dead, buried in chambers in a sitting attitude, were furnished. In Sicily and indeed on the mainland in central Italy the rock-hewn chamber-tombs are a most important feature. They are of various shapes—circular, with a vaulted roof, and entered by a shaft (Capaci, near Palermo), or cut into the rock face with a narrow doorway, window, or corridor to serve as entrance (in the neighbourhood of Girgenti and of Syracuse respectively), and often consist of more than one chamber, rectangular or ellipsoid or circular. An alternative method to these was to build artificial rock-chambers of slabs of rock. Sardinia, like

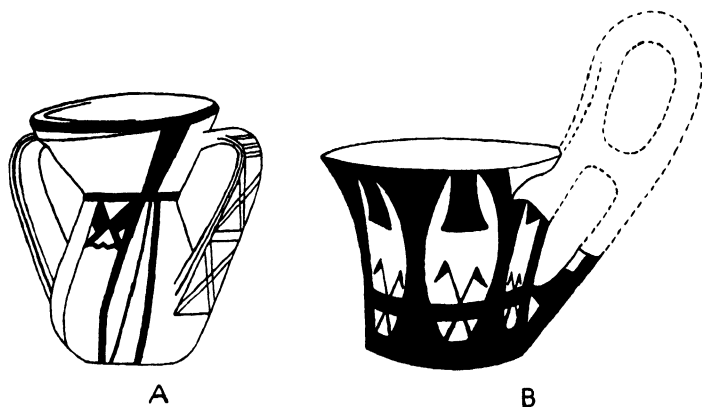


FIG. 13.—Sicilian Pottery (Chalcolithic).

Sicily, is distinguished from the mainland (except in central Italy) by similar grave-chambers cut into the solid rock. These large sepulchres were prepared for collective burials; in Sicily up to a hundred bodies might be buried in a single tomb, and in this they differ markedly from neolithic burials.

9. THE BRONZE AGE

From the chalcolithic we pass to the bronze age proper in Italy. There had been no great change, it would appear, in man's way of life during the long intermediate chalcolithic period, though it should be remembered that the beginning of trade, indications of which are obvious enough, was paving the road

for great changes. Even in the lake-dwellings of north Italy (as distinguished from the later *terremare*) there is ample evidence of striking innovations. The earliest, indeed, of the lake-dwellings (in the western group) make it clear that the neolithic age had not yet run its whole course at the time they were occupied ; nevertheless, objects made of bronze (not of copper) make their appearance there. On the other hand, the later group of lake-dwellings (to the east), so far as the evidence of neighbouring cemeteries may be regarded as trustworthy, were the work of people who lived on into the full bronze age. Scraps of woven stuff and undoubted loom-weights are common enough



FIG. 14.—Pottery from Brabbia (Lake Varese).

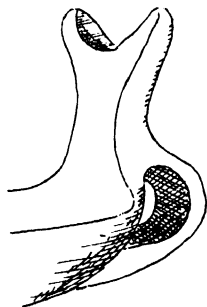


FIG. 15.—Crescent-shaped Handle.

to show the advance made in the art of making coarse textiles. Agriculture, at least the cultivation of millet and two primitive varieties of wheat, is also well attested. The vine and black-berry had been introduced, and the seeds of wild flax and poppy, together with barley, wild apple, acorns, hazel nuts, cornel-cherries, and water chestnut, indicate new resources in food. Among the animals, whose remains are found in excavations conducted in the peat-bog or lake-margins where the lake dwellings once stood, are the stag, wild boar, sheep, ox, roebuck, badger, the fresh-water turtle, the pig, and above all the dog. The men who built the lake-dwellings were thus not merely hunters but also agriculturists and doubtless fishermen. They

had canoes and paddles, and objects thought to be net-sinkers and floats (the latter of wood) have been discovered. It is

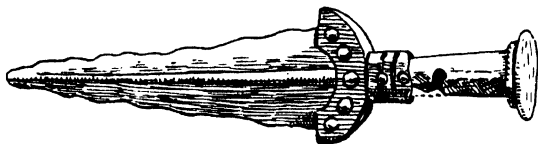


FIG. 16.—Triangular Dagger from Polada.

assumed, on the evidence of the cemeteries, that they cremated their dead and buried the bones in biconical jars covered with

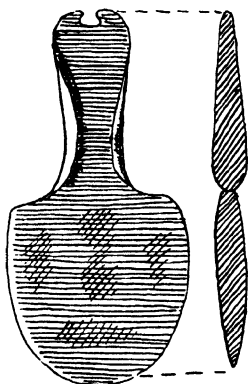


FIG. 17.—Axe with Curved Cutting-edge.

a stone slab, and later on with a basin or saucer, and accompanied by funeral furniture—teeth and pendants, razors, knives, and accessory vases. The burials are single or in very small groups. This assumption rests on the argument that the cemeteries (for example of Rogoredo, Coarezza, Monza) are "due to the same race who in the early bronze age had dwelt in the lakes close by," on the absence of contemporary inhumation graves in the region of the lake-dwellings, and on the conviction that the *terremare* burial rite (cremation) continues that of the lake-dwellings; but the student should be warned

that quite contrary interpretations are made of identical evidence by different authorities.¹

¹ "No burials corresponding in date to the earliest lake-dwellings have yet been found. . . . We cannot with absolute certainty assert that the lake-dwellers when they founded their first settlements employed cremation," Peet, p. 327; "the Swiss lake-dwellings have yielded numerous inhumation burials," *id.*, p. 505. "The earliest lake-dwellers buried their dead ashore in earth graves or slab-lined cists," Myres in *C.A.H. I*, p. 73. "No graves whatever have been found belonging to lake-dwellers at this or any other period," Childe, *Dawn of European Civilization*, p. 250; "no graves belonging to lake-dwellers have ever been discovered," *id.*, p. 269; despite this positive assertion, the same author writes elsewhere that "no positive assertion can be made about the prevailing burial rite" (of the lake-dwellers). Even Brizio could write (*Epoca Preistorica*, p. lxxxv, the introduction to *Storia Politica d'Italia scritta da una Società di Professori*, Milan 1898) that the *terramaricoli* at first practised inhumation.

Amber, of rare occurrence hitherto, is common enough to show that the lake-dwellers were in contact, directly or indirectly, with Transalpine sources of supply. Pottery shows new shapes that contrast strongly with neolithic forms: note especially the high bowl set on a tall trumpet-shaped foot, or on four low feet, and the gradual appearance of the crescent-handle (*ansa lunata* or *cornuta*) which, in an exaggerated form, becomes characteristic later on of the *terremare*. Among the weapons we may mention the triangular dagger of longer pattern, also common in the *terremare*, a specimen of which, complete with hilt, was found at Polada; and the celt with wide-curved edge (*coltello-ascia*) common in the lake-dwellings of Lombardy. But much of the material from Peschiera, for example the violin-bow fibulæ, belongs to the succeeding bronze age.

10. THE LAKE-DWELLINGS AND TERREMARE

The limited distribution of the lake-dwellings (Maggiore, Varese, Como, Iseo, Garda, and also at Fimone, and Arquè—the last-named now partly dried up, and Fimone much smaller than in prehistoric times), even if we include the later hut settlements to which the lake-dwellers moved in the course of the bronze age, is held to indicate that the overflow, so to speak, of their builders from the Alpine valleys of Switzerland, where similar habitations are both numerous and older in date, did not go very far. In fact it appears to have been a brief and pacific infiltration which left no permanent mark, except perhaps locally, though as a chronological and historical landmark it is important in north Italy.

With the *terremare*, however, it is far different. These are due to a much more vigorous movement, on a much larger scale, coming, it would appear, from the direction of the Danube. The expression *terra mara* (or *marna*), properly a north Italian agriculturist's term for the rich marly fertilizer which the slow decomposition of prehistoric settlements had bountifully provided, has become a technical archæological term (in the plural *terremare*) which is also used nowadays to describe similar settlements outside Italy. A *terramara* regularly presents very definite features of construction which may be illustrated

from the now classical example at Castellazzo di Fontanellato (in the province of Parma). Virtually a pile-dwelling on dry land, it is trapezoidal in outline, the two longer sides being parallel and running roughly north and south. The acute angle, which served as a cut-water, naturally faces the direction

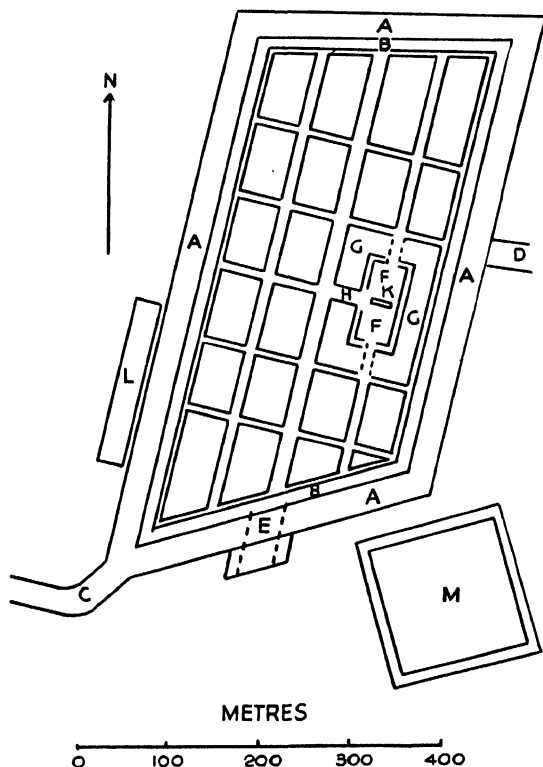


FIG. 18.—Terramara (Castellazzo).

from which water was led from a neighbouring stream, some tributary of the Po in nearly every case, to fill the moat that ran round the wooden buttress-supported rampart enclosing the settlements, the overflow running off through an outlet cut in one of the longer sides. Just at the foot of the rampart was

a small ditch that has been identified with the augural trench (*sulcus primigenius*) marked out when the *terramara* was first established. The entire settlement was divided into sections (all of them rectangular except on the shorter sides) first by two main ways, the longer parallel to the longer sides and midway between them, the shorter at right angles to it half-way between its two ends, and then by a number of secondary ways parallel

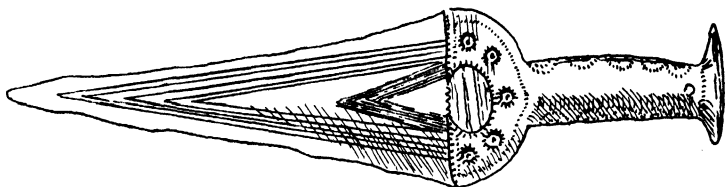


FIG. 19.—Bronze Dagger from Castione.

to the one or the other of the two main ways. The longer main way led to a bridge and gangway at one end that afforded an entrance to the settlement over the moat. On the eastern side of the *terramara* was a rectangular *templum*,¹ a structure of heaped-up earth, also enclosed by a moat and entered on the west by a bridge. This *templum* was never occupied by pile-



FIG. 20.—Bronze Sword (Terramara type).

supported dwellings like the rest of the *terramara*. Moreover, in its centre were ritual pits, usually five in number, which on excavation were found to contain animal bones (presumably of victims slaughtered at the foundation of the settlement), fragments of pottery, shells, and flint chips. Finally we must note that outside the *terramara* proper was the cemetery, "a *terramara* of the dead" as it has been well described, rectangular

¹ That is a parcel of land "cut off" (*temno*, τέμνω) for special use. The word was applied also to regions of the sky or of a liver (by the *haruspices*), and, by a simple transference of meaning, to a building erected on a piece of land "cut-off," i.e. consecrated from secular use and itself consecrated. For this development of meaning compare the Oscan *kaſla* "temple," cognate with *cardo*, the Latin *cælum* having been extended in meaning from "region" (of the heavens) to "sky".

and built on piles, where the remains of the dead were placed, after burning, in urns, usually of biconical pattern and covered with a slab of stone or an inverted dish. These urns are packed very closely together and in some places even in two layers. At Castellazzo, indeed, there was another cemetery (to the west) but there is no information forthcoming to show what difference

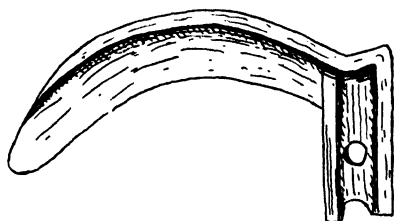


FIG. 21.—Bronze Sickle (Terramara).

there was, if any, between its dead and those of the cemetery on the south-east. The western burial-ground, however, was not built on piles. It will give some indication of size to point out that the Castellazzo *terramara* (537 to 641 m.

long, by 319 m. broad) covered an area of nearly two thousand square metres. The significance of the general lay-out, and especially of the obvious resemblance to a Roman camp, will be discussed in a later chapter.

Naturally so restricted an area of habitation presented two serious problems to the early settlers who lived in *terramare*.

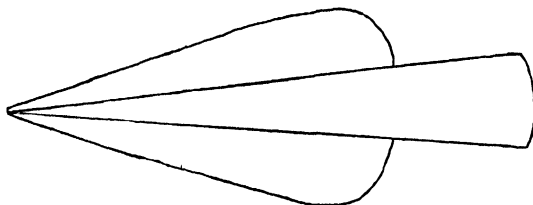


FIG. 22.—Bronze Spear-head (Terramara).

In the first place, refuse which accumulated beneath the platforms around the piles by which the dwellings were supported in time rose so high as to render the site uninhabitable until the whole was burnt to the ground. After this purification by fire the *terramara* was rebuilt on the same site—and more than once. Then, too, the mere growth of population demanded the building of new settlements; and in fact there are remains of a

temporary settlement at Castellazzo, no doubt occupied while the *terramara* proper was being constructed. But it is more important to observe that starting at first near Lake Garda and the other eastern lakes, the *terremare*-folk gradually spread south and east until they occupied a large number of sites in Emilia (where they are thickest upon the ground, especially in the district between Piacenza and Bologna), in the provinces of Mantua, Brescia, and Cremona. There are a few even in the Veneto, and a single *terramara*-like settlement has been discovered so far south as Taranto.

The main features of the burial rite have been described above. Here

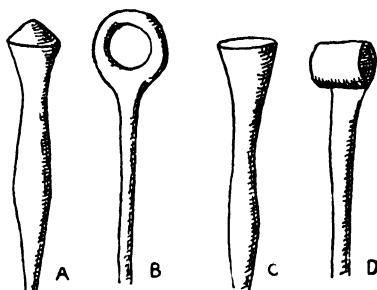


FIG. 23.—Bronze Pins (Terramara).

and there differences have been observed as in the cemetery at Monte Lonato (in the province of Brescia), where groups of urns were arranged within a circle of stones enclosing a mound. Noteworthy everywhere is the paucity of funeral furniture. The most striking facts which are revealed by these cemeteries is that the inhabitants of north Italy in the bronze age were advanced in the practice both of agriculture

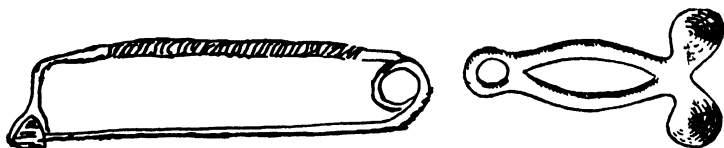


FIG. 24.—Violin-bow Fibula and Bronze Ornament (Terramara).

and of metallurgy. As agriculturists they knew flax, beans, two varieties of wheat, and the vine (even if not cultivated), and for food, besides grain pounded in hand-mills, and wild fruits and nuts (apples, pears, cherries, hazel, acorn), they had the spoil of the chase (stag, deer, wild boar, bear) and the products of domesticated animals (ox, pig, sheep, goat), and fowls and ducks. They had domesticated not only the horse (and

perhaps the ass), but also the dog. The discovery of bits and of cart-wheels suggests that beasts of burden were harnessed for driving. Finally there is some scanty evidence to indicate that they fished the lakes and streams with which their country abounds.

As metallurgists they cast and manufactured for themselves bronze implements such as flanged and winged celts (the latter type gradually approaching that of the socketed form of the

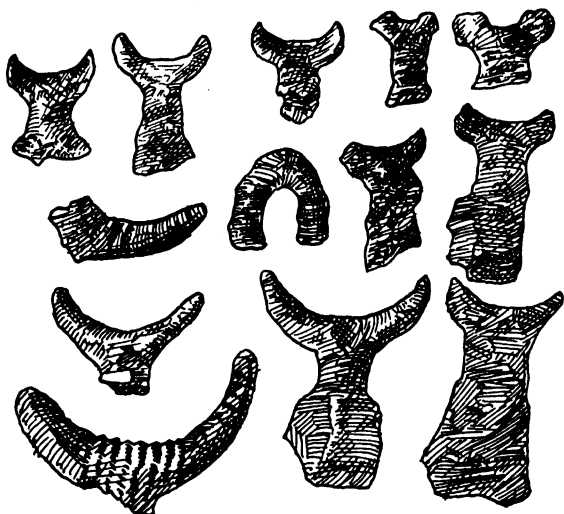


FIG. 25.—Horned (crescent) Handles.

early iron age), triangular and leaf-shaped daggers, and, very noteworthy, long two-edged swords for cutting—a weapon of central European origin; spear-heads, arrow-heads, sickles, and pins are also found in considerable numbers. Especially to be remarked is the violin-bow fibula, still of quite simple form, lightly made and comparatively small. It was used apparently for pinning together at the shoulder a long cloak or robe, and it also is derived from regions north and east of Italy. Their table furniture was partly of wood—cups, basins, spoons, and ladles. Their pottery, still handmade, included besides ossuaries, cups, jugs, ovoid or globular jars, strainers, and a curious small

conical object which some have thought to be a whistle. Very conspicuous is the elaborate horned handle, characteristic of the *terramara* and with analogous forms in Hungary and Bosnia. Mention must be made also of the clay figurines, both of men and women and also of some unidentified animals; of bone

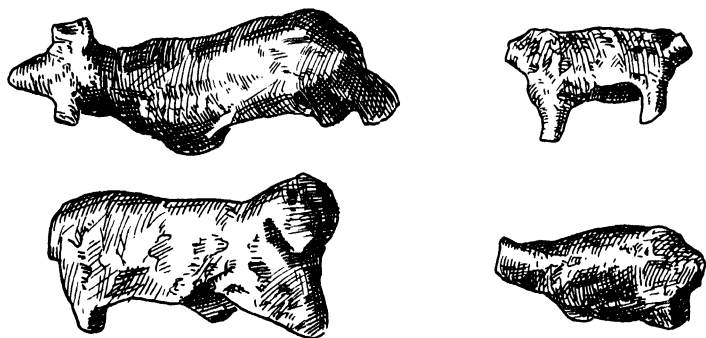


FIG. 26.—Clay Figurines (Terramara).

objects, including combs; and of beads of amber or earthenware. Amber is not so common as might have been expected, and it has been suggested that the location of the *terremare* is just off the great amber trade-route which ran from the Baltic past the head of the Adriatic Sea.

II. ITALY SOUTH OF THE APENNINES IN THE BRONZE AGE

Nevertheless, the *terremare*-folk seem to have served in some measure the function of middlemen for such trade as took place between Italy south of the Apennines and central Europe. Certain it is that there was no great expansion of these people themselves further southwards in the bronze age. Isolated settlements may be attributed to them, and there is considerable evidence to show that they exerted some influence upon the course of development of the older population at that period. But the nature of the country as a whole, still largely unreclaimed, made their further spreading too difficult so long as internal or external pressure was not increased. It is true that materials upon which to base any conclusion are still less

abundant than in the north, but from such excavations as have been carried out it may be confidently said that the essential feature of the contemporaneous bronze age civilization, in parts of Italy not actually occupied by the *terremare* settlers, is fundamentally a continuation of neolithic and chalcolithic civilization with an admixture of new objects and new types due to the influence of *terramara* models. Thus in eastern Emilia, and even as far north as the Trentino, have been found, not pile-dwellings, but caves or hut-villages, the huts, as a rule roughly circular in shape and hollowed in the ground—very rarely raised on piles—with a fireplace in the centre, and with refuse-pits showing pottery and bronzes partly of the *terramara* type, partly of older type. Monte Castellaccio is an excellent example of such a settlement. Side by side with the *ansa cornuta* is the *ansa cilindro-retta*, forms of handle characteristic respectively of the *terremare* and of neolithic settlements. Above all inhumation remained the regular form of disposal of the dead.

Much the same description may be applied to the Marche, though it would appear that such infiltration of *terramaricoli* as did occur took place through the Marche. Even the wooden platform or “raft” found in a bronze age settlement at Offida (Piceno) is not to be compared with true *terremare*. In Liguria we meet a certain contrast—for if *terramara* influence was slight elsewhere, here it was completely absent. There appears to have been nothing to disturb either the old neolithic and chalcolithic inhabitants, or their burial rite of inhumation and the rest of their gradual evolution of their own bronze age culture. The famous rock-drawings of Liguria in the Colle di Tenda, long attributed to this period, are possibly much later in date.¹ It is not astonishing, however, to find that sites in the Veneto have revealed material which shows analogies with Histrian and Bosnian types, as for example the peculiar crested “bilobate” and “beaked” handles of pottery from Marendole. The Veneto, indeed, is not alone in such evidence of contact with the northern Balkans. At many points on the Adriatic coast of Italy material of many different periods has been accumulated which at once suggests comparison with corresponding material from the opposite eastern coast. The latest settle-

¹ Cf. p. 129 below.

ments of the Veneto, as often elsewhere, show admirably a stage of bronze-age culture just anterior to, or overlapping with, the beginning of the iron age. In Umbria, Tuscany, and Latium isolated finds would seem to indicate a state of affairs quite like that which obtained in Emilia, though *terramara* influence is naturally less pronounced.

The southern part of the peninsula does not differ markedly. It must, indeed, be noted that excavation in south Italy has progressed less rapidly than in the north. Nevertheless, here, too, there is found, side by side with a gradual advance from neolithic and chalcolithic civilization, a foreign intrusive element which is usually explained as due to the influence of the *terremare*. Caves were still used as dwelling-places when available, though hut-villages also existed. Noteworthy is the south Italian cup with tongue-like handle set high on the rim.

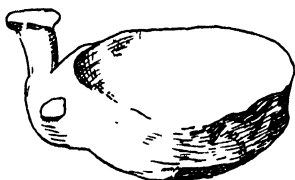


FIG. 27.—Vase with *ansa cilindro-retta*.



FIG. 28.—Types of Handles (crested, "Bilobate," and "Beaked").

A pile-structure from the Grotta di Pertosa (near Salerno) presents something of a problem; but, everything considered, it is probably to be regarded as independent of the pile-dwellings of the north. Perhaps it was dictated by the necessity of occupying a cave through which a stream flowed. On the other hand, near Taranto, as we have already seen, a pile-structure which

does show the essential features of a *terramara* has come to light, and with it objects of characteristically *terramara* type (the double razor, violin-bow fibula, sickle, winged axe). And certain sporadic finds of bronzes from several south Italian sites are of like derivation. Above all at Timmari, again not far from Taranto, a bronze age cemetery, not much later than the Taranto "*terramara*," shows not inhumation but cremation. It can hardly be doubted, therefore, that some detachments of *terramaricoli* moved southwards, as far even as Taranto, before the end of the bronze age. Nevertheless, there is ample evidence of industries peculiar to south Italy and distinguishing it from

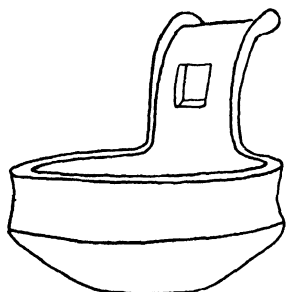


FIG. 29.—Vase with Tongue-like Handle



FIG. 30.—South Italian Vase, showing Spiral Decoration

the north; it will be enough to mention here the red polished ware, or the incised and punctured ware, and the spiral decoration found at a number of sites. Coppa della Nevigata on the Adriatic coast may be taken as typical with its mixed south Italian and *terramara* material and also with its pottery handles of Bosnian type. Ægean influence is by no means so well marked. There has been considerable discussion concerning the contemporary Apulian culture as shown especially at Matera. On the whole it seems clear that side by side with the Balkan analogies generally recognized there is a very definite relation between Apulia and eastern Sicily,¹ no less than in the preceding age.

¹ Orsi, *Mon. Ant.*, 31, 1926, pp. 365 f., accepts Mayer's conclusions on this point at least as regards pottery.

12. THE BRONZE AGE IN SICILY

Yet the chief foreign influence which manifests itself in eastern Sicily, especially in the coastal settlements, during the Second Sikel period (that is, the bronze age) is rather from the

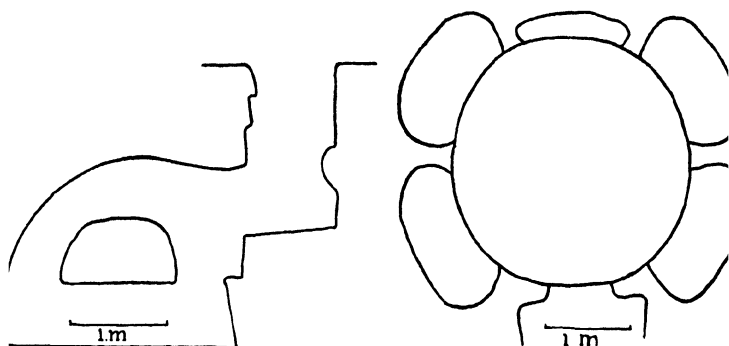


FIG. 31.—Tombs at Thapsos.

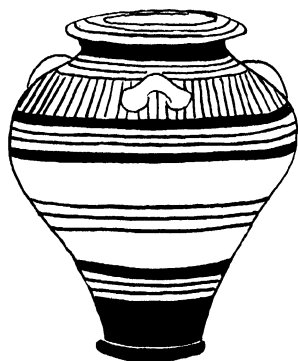


FIG. 32.—Mycenaean Vase from Thapsos.



FIG. 33.—Vase with Strip-ornament in Relief.

Ægean. Such influence might naturally be expected, if only as a continuation of that which had begun during the chalcolithic age. The tombs, still rock-hewn, and consisting of several chambers, are elliptical, rectangular (representing a transitional

type to the tombs of Sikel III), or circular in shape, the last-named regularly with a domed roof (the *tholos* type) which is

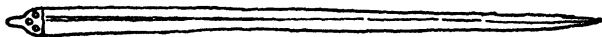


FIG. 34.—Sicilian Rapier (bronze) from Plemmirio (76 cm. long).

regarded as of Mycenæan origin. The material found in such tombs, for example at Thapsos, where five niches open off the burial chamber proper, bears out this ascription, notably the

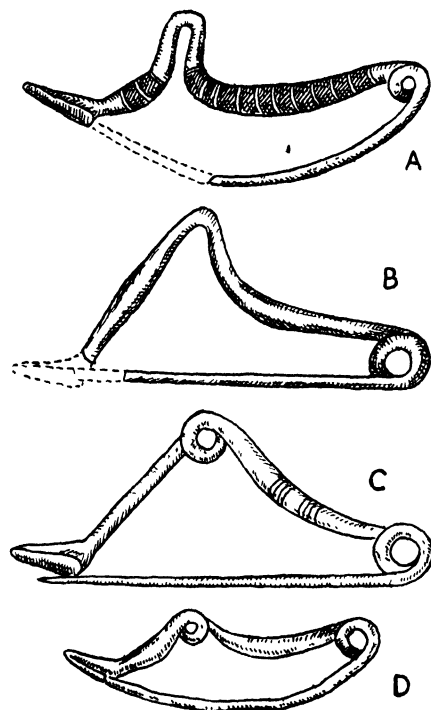


FIG. 35.—Fibulæ from Cassibile.

pottery (late Minoan amphoræ) and the long "Mycenæan" rapier.

Native types, indeed, were still followed, and the burial rite remained that of inhumation, but there was less care taken to place the body in the crouched position. Very often it was left with the legs slightly drawn up or placed sitting as at a banquet. Moreover, instead of the large numbers of bodies placed in a single grave as in the previous age, it became the rule to place together only a few—three or four. Huts still formed the usual dwelling-place, as seen in the remains of the hut-village at Caldare. Especially interesting are the excavations con-

ducted at Cassibile where a gradual transition from Sikel II to Sikel III is clear in the rectangular tomb, in the single skeleton, laid on one side, in the fibulæ (the types known as

"elbow-shape" *a gomito*, "harp-shaped" *ad arpa*, and "broken-backed" *serpeggiante*) which are definitely later than the "violin-bow" type so common on the mainland and in the north, and in the cessation of foreign influence. There is no doubt that we have a gradual evolution from Sikel I to Sikel II and from Sikel II to Sikel III, with Ægean influence of a decadent Mycenæan character reaching its height in the second period.

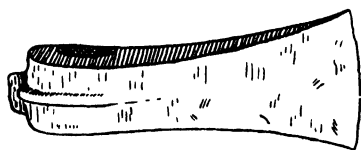


FIG. 36.—Bronze Axe with Transverse Socket (Sicily)

The transition is as clear in the inland as in the coastal settlements. Noteworthy in this connexion are the sites of Pantalica



FIG. 37.—Bronze Sword from Thapsos (29 cm. long).

and Caltagirone. Indeed the Filiporto and Cavetta groups of tombs at Pantalica belong in part to the third Sikel period (early iron age), and in general it seems that the chief difference between the two types of settlement is due to the somewhat later date of

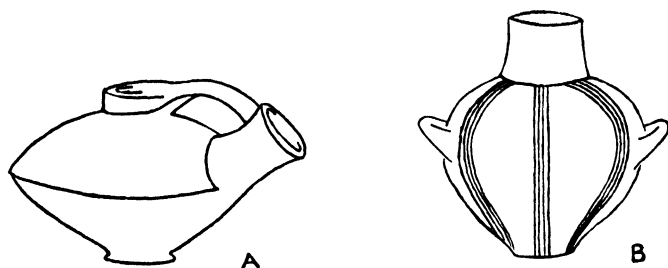


FIG. 38.—Sicilian Red Polished Ware.

the inland ones. But the strong contrast between Sicily and Italy is just as marked in both. Even in the matter of external influence the contrast is marked, for materials of Mycenæan type are virtually unknown on the mainland—only a few scattered

objects claimed as such from various points of the Adriatic coast have been found, and not all of these are certainly Mycenæan. The hatchet, unknown at this date in north Italy, here replaces

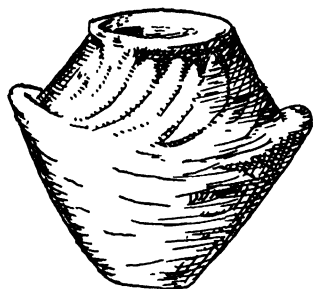


FIG 39.—Vase showing "Feather-pattern" Ornamentation (Cassibile)

the winged celt of the *terremare*, and the flanged celt of the north is extremely rare. And if the "olive-leaf" knife is common both in the pile-dwellings and in Sicily, it is found also in the Ægean bronze age. So far as the large number of objects of ornament and luxury unearthed in eastern Sicily in the bronze age is an indication—gold rings, pendants of bronze, beads of glass and amber, the ivory comb from

Plemmirio and the bronze mirror from Pantalica, everything points to a flourishing and prosperous civilization engaged in a busy trade with the Ægean world. Characteristic of the later stages are the Sicilian red polished and "feather pattern" ware. At the end geometric ware, either imported or copied from imported objects, makes its appearance.

13. THE EARLY IRON AGE

It is disputed whether or not the several early iron-age civilizations of Italy—for there is more than one—are the outgrowth of those of the bronze age. The question does not arise except for the civilization which is rather loosely called "Villanovan," wherever it appears in Italy, and, of course, for the Etruscan. The latter will be considered more fully in Chapter IX; for the present it is enough to say that the evidence, taken all together, is decidedly in favour of seeing considerable foreign influence in the Tuscan civilization of the early iron age due to actual, though not numerous, invaders. As to the "Villanovan," there is hardly yet evidence decisive enough to enable us to say whether Pigorini or Randall-MacIver¹ has the right of the matter. The

¹ *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, Oxford, 1924, pp. 91 ff. I use Randall-MacIver's name rather than Brizio's or Modestov's, because, as the reader will see, there is an important difference in their views not only as regards the early

question is, briefly, whether the creators of the various so-called "Villanovan" groups, including the early iron-age civilizations that flourished round the western lakes and in the Veneto in north Italy, were simply the descendants of the old pile-dwellers; or whether new invaders, bringing new inventions with them, yet coming from the same general region of central Europe and the Danube valley as the pile-dwellers and probably distantly related to them, entered Italy, presumably from the north-east, and spread southwards and westwards. The cardinal point at present seems to be that, so far as the evidence hitherto discovered is sufficient warrant for the assertion, the "Villanovans" of Latium were settled there at a date earlier than that at which the "Villanovans" of Emilia reached their province. For inasmuch as the Latian group is certainly not due to spontaneous development, and inasmuch as the "Villanovans" of Bologna can by no means be derived from those west of the Apennines (as was propounded in Grenier's theory), it is more reasonable to accept the theory of successive waves of invaders than to suppose that a people already settled in north Italy should have expanded in such a way as to reach Latium before Emilia. Manifestly a newly invading body, finding itself in hostile territory in the north and east would penetrate as far south and west as it could get (which seems to have been the Alban Hills) and thus not only leave unoccupied territory through which it had passed but also become in its turn a check to later arrivals. Moreover, the several "Villanovan" and related groups, to judge from their material remains, are best regarded as related to one another collaterally (I borrow Randall-MacIver's terminology), not as descended from any one of their number or from the *terramaricoli*. Hence, as in later and perhaps also in earlier times, a succession of invasions, rather than a single invasion, would be postulated to inaugurate a new age. Finally, granted (what we shall see presently) that there are late bronze age settlements which verge upon the iron age, yet those settlements are transitional rather in date than in the sense that they make the genetic link between *terramare* civilization and "Villanova"

iron-age groups, where I prefer Randall-MacIver's view (though none of these three authorities derives the "Villanovans" from the *terramaricoli*, as Pigorini does), but also as regards the origin of the *terramaricoli* themselves, where I reject Brizio's view entirely in favour of the now generally accepted theory of Pigorini.

civilization which would prove Pigorini's theory. In any event there is no doubt that the iron age in Italy is marked by the presence of several cremating stocks, unquestionably akin to one another, ultimately sprung from the same central European and Danubian regions as the broad likenesses and respective chronological relationships of the Italian and central European civilizations show, moving southwards and westwards in Italy itself, and probably implying new invasions of Italian soil at the close of the bronze age rather than a continued development of civilizations established there by invasions at its beginning.

The intermediate settlements just mentioned are, beside Timmari (already noted, p. 80 above), where what have been described as "rudimentary Villanovan" ossuaries were found, Pianello (in the Marche, near Fabriano), again showing such ossuaries, Bismantova (Emilia) and Fontanella Mantovana. Pianello is noteworthy as showing cremation in the county of the Picenes, where inhumation is otherwise the rule, but the bronze objects discovered there, especially the fibulæ, so far as they are not of *terramara* forms, indicate rather Picene than "Villanovan" associations. The two remaining sites are actually within *terramara* territory, and have yielded no objects which would prove them to have been planted by forerunners of the "Villanovans". But in date they stand at the very end of a line of bronze-age settlements, just as Allumiere and Tolfa (both in southern Etruria) stand at a point of "Villanovan" development earlier even than the First Benacci material at Bologna.

Practically contemporaneous with these are certain other settlements of the southern "Villanovans" not in Etruria but in Latium to which we shall return later. First we must observe that, in marked contrast with those of the preceding ages, the inhabitants of Italy in the iron age begin to show signs, for the first time, of developing what may be called "national" characteristics (cf. pp. 8, 193, 406), at any rate culturally (and it is only in respect of culture that we know anything definite of them in the three centuries beginning about 1000 B.C.), and at least so far as concerns the cremating peoples of north Italy. That is to say, there are strong local differences which enable us to distinguish the following regional units, which, except for out-

lying sectors like the Ticino colony,¹ cover more or less completely the entire country: (1) the *Comacine-Golaseccan* around and south of Lakes Maggiore and Como; (2) the "Villanovan" groups of settlements, which are subdivided into (a) a *Latian* in northern Latium, (b) a *Tuscan*² which occupies the greater part of Tuscany, (c) the "*Villanovan*"³ properly so-called along the river Reno near Bologna; (3) the *Atestine* group in the Veneto. In regard to all these groups, as already explained, that view is here followed which sees in them units not so much gradually differentiated by special local developments and conditions as rather due to separate invasions from a common source whence they all drew their main inspiration. To them we must add the following groups of inhuming peoples in the east and south: (4) the *Picene*, in the Adriatic coastal valleys and the eastern Apennines from Rimini to Aufidena, together with a few outposts further west; (5) the *Apulian* in Apulia and (ancient) Calabria, where scattered settlements belong together, if at all, quite loosely; (6) the *Campanian* group of which there is little to tell before the days of Greek colonies; (7) the *Bruttian* in the "ager Bruttius," now known to be of great importance because of its similarity (at at least two sites) to the Sicilian. Finally we have, in Sicily itself, (8) the *Sicilian* group, comprising remains generally designated "Third Sikel" as being anterior to those of the fourth "Græco-Sikel" period.

The detailed description of the cultures prevalent during the early iron age in each of these regional groups, with their quasi-national features, is reserved for the several chapters devoted to them. Here it will be enough to give merely a general description, with special reference to the "Villanovan" culture as it appears in Emilia at Bologna, which after all furnishes the standard types for comparison. In fact the

¹ This lies in part in Switzerland, but there it is clearly the most northerly extension (with important local variations) of the pre-Roman and pre-Keltic civilization that flourished further south in the foot-hills and valleys of the Lepontic Alps. How far Ligurian settlers from the Riviera were responsible for it, is a question which will be considered in a later chapter.

² I use this (like the designations of the other units) as a geographical term, Etruscan as a linguistic term. Here nothing is said or implied of race or origins.

³ Randall-MacIver's "Northern Villanovans". Hereafter I shall use the term only in that sense.

"Villanovans" proper occupied quite a small territory, numerous as they seem to have been within it. The cemeteries of San Vitale and Savena, not far to the east of Bologna outside the San Vitale gate, are noteworthy as being the earliest in date yet discovered, standing at the very beginning of the First Benacci period. The other most important cemeteries are the Benacci, which represents the two early periods, and the Arnoaldi, which follows them. Both of these, as well as the Certosa cemetery, which belongs to a still later date when the Etruscans had arrived and founded Felsina, are just west of Bologna, outside the porta

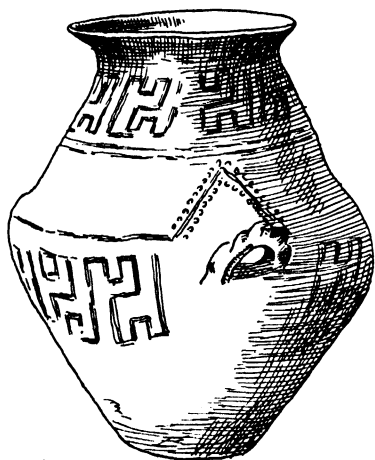


FIG. 40.—Villanovan Pottery Urn.

Sant' Isaia, Villanova itself lying eight kilometres east. Other remains have been found between the valley of the river Reno and the Apennines and between the river Panaro and the Adriatic. The characteristic ossuary is the biconical vase, decorated with incised geometrical designs, in which the bones more or less completely burnt were deposited together with weapons, other implements, and ornaments, both inside and around it. The vase, its mouth being closed with an inverted basin, was placed

not very deep, either simply in a hole in the earth, or with a lining of small stones around it (sometimes also covered with a low mound of stones), or as in the later burials within a rectangular cist fashioned of thin slabs of stone. Iron is at first very rarely found though it does occur from the beginning of the First Benacci period. But the types of fibula, of axe, sword, knife, and in particular the semi-lunar "razor," as well as the geometrical ornament are far removed from what we find in products of the bronze age.

Not only the graves of the "Villanovans," but remains of their hut-villages have been found. The huts were round and of

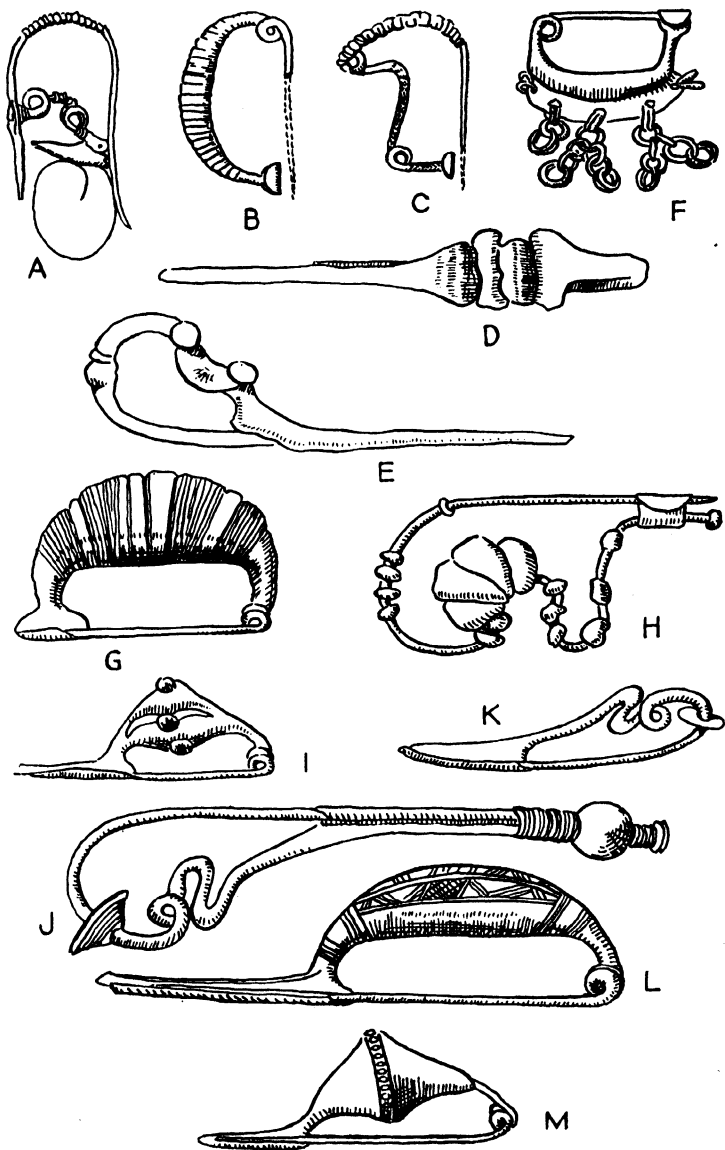


FIG. 41.—Types of Bronze Villanovan Fibulae.

the same general type as is known in central Italy from the hut-shaped urns used there as ossuaries. Hammered bronze work, characteristic again of "Villanovan" civilization, includes besides handsome tall vases of typical "Villanovan" pattern, *situlae*,



FIG. 42.—Bronze Semi-lunar Razor.

bowls, miniature tray-tables and cups, and especially the well-known bronze girdles. All of these are commonly ornamented in repoussé style, sometimes simple rows of dots, sometimes in quite elaborate designs.

These girdles are comparatively rare in the Second Benacci period, though it was if anything wealthier than the First. There is, indeed, a steady transition from the one to the other period, but the larger number of iron objects, and the greater frequency with which glass-paste and amber occur, suggest

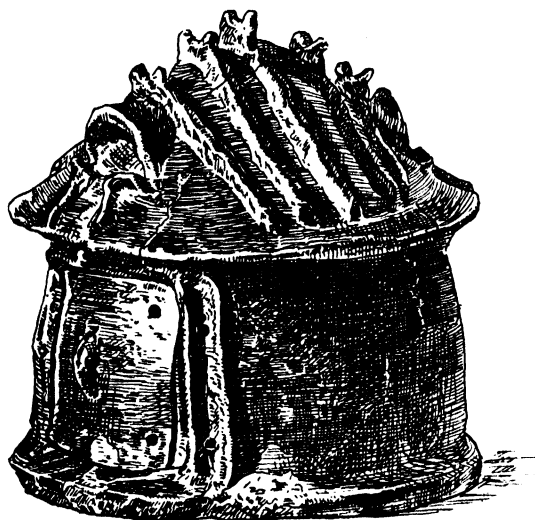


FIG. 43.—Hut-shaped Urn (Rome).

active land-borne trade both to the north and the south. Improvements in the technique of bronze work is revealed in bronze ossuaries copied from the earthenware type.

The prosperity implicit in the Second Benacci remains was

evidently continued into the succeeding Arnoaldi period. Both glass and amber are abundant, and iron was used lavishly. Of especial interest is the first appearance of goldsmith's work, and also a new acquisition, the chariot with iron wheels. This is held to have been learnt from the Etruscans. Indeed the time was approaching when, after the Tuscan and "Villanovan" cultures had continued for a while to exist side by side, the latter, still prosperous but decadent and quite uninspired by new ideas, was destined to die out. No great imagination, however, is

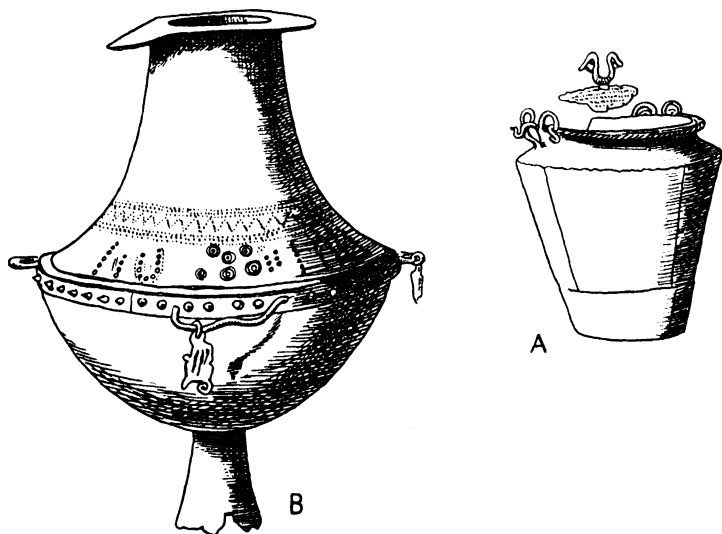


FIG. 44.—Villanovan Bronze Urns.

required to visualize the "Villanovans" in the first half of the first millennium B.C., wearing woollen garments fastened with bronze fibulæ, their round huts stocked with a great variety of bronze and earthenware utensils, the men equipped with spears, axes, and the familiar antennæ-handled sword for war, if need arose, the women provided with an abundance of ornaments—armlets, finger rings, and arm bands, pins with large coloured-glass heads, amber discs for stringing along the bows of safety-pins and the like. Horse-riding, driving, and hunting were everyday pursuits, at any rate for the well-to-do. As a

manufacturing centre Bologna has been called the Birmingham of prehistoric Italy, and the comparison is not unjustified, but we should hesitate to say anything of the communal life of its inhabitants at that date.

It would appear, however, that as late as the sixth century B.C. neither Etruscan nor Greek art had become well known or influential at Bologna. The spread of these, and in particular of the orientalizing styles introduced through the Etruscans, will be traced below. They are mentioned now, with the much less important La Tène culture introduced by the Gauls and the "Illyrian" influences seen by some archæologists in Alpine and Adriatic settlements, in order to complete the list of civilizations which contributed something, however little, to the life of pre-Roman Italy. As we have already seen, once the neolithic population had established itself in the peninsula, the only large-scale movements into Italy from outside, down to the beginning of the early iron age, are supposed to have come from the north and east. For the influence of Balkan cultures on the Adriatic coast, and of the Ægean on Sicily are incidental, not fundamental, and in any case the result of exchanges made by trade, not invasions or migrations. But it is well to point out that closer study of the contemporary central European and Danubian remains themselves has tended to weaken rather than to strengthen the current views on migrations from those regions into Italy.¹ The reader will have observed that no attempt has been made in this chapter to assign absolute dates to these migrations, or even to successive stages of civilization. The relative chronology is clear, but opinion has varied greatly in regard to absolute chronology (except where a positive synchronism is available such as is furnished by the Bocchoris inscription of Tarquinia),² and certainly is not yet reached. The present tendency is towards lower dating. But it should be understood that the dates which are given in the appended chronological table, which represents the conclusions which seem most likely to be right, so far as present evidence warrants, are at the best only approximate and likely enough to need revision as new evidence is discovered.

¹ Cf. Childe, *The Danube in Prehistory*, Oxford, 1929, pp. 294, 353, 412 f.

² See Randall-MacIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, Oxford, 1924, pp. 162 f.

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- Boule, M., Cartailhac, É., Verneau, R., et de Villeneuve, L., *Les Grottes de Grimaldi (Baoussé-Roussé)*, Monaco, 1906-12.
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- , *Molfetta und Matera*, Leipzig, 1924.
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- Montelius, O., *La civilisation primitive en Italie*, Stockholm, 1895-1910.
- , *Die vorklassische Chronologie Italiens*, Stockholm, 1912 (cf. *Journ. Roy. Anth. Inst.*, 26, 1897, pp. 254 ff., 261 ff.; *Zeitschr. f. Ethn.*, 37, 1905, pp. 545 f.).
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Rellini, U., *Cavernette e Ripari preistorici nell' agro Falisco*, in *Mon. Ant.*, 26, 1920, pp. 1-170.

—, *Il problema degli Italici*, in *Nuova Antologia*, 369, Sept.-Oct. 1933, pp. 71 ff.

—, *Le Stazioni enee delle Marche di fase seriore e la civiltà italica*, in *Mon. Ant.*, 34, 1932, pp. 129-271.

—, *Le origini della civiltà italica*, Rome, 1929 (see also the review in *Riv. di Antrop.*, 29, 1930-32, pp. 619 ff.).

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Sergi, G., *Italia: le origini*, Turin, 1919.

della Seta, A., *Italia Antica*, ed. 2, Bergamo, 1928.

Sundwall, J., *Villanova Studien*, in *Acta Acad. Aboensis Humaniora*, V, Abo, 1928, pp. 1-120.

The student who wishes to keep abreast of current progress in the anthropology and archæology of ancient Italy should read the reports published from time to time not only in the special journals (a selected list of which follows), but also in the *London Times* and in the *Illustrated London News* many of which are quite valuable.

Among the periodical publications the following are perhaps the most useful (note especially the report of the discovery of a Neanderthal-type skull near Rome, *Bull. di Paletn. Ital.*, 49, 1929, p. 112):

American Journal of Archæology, Concord, N.H.

Annales Institutorum, Rome (Bibliog.).

Antiquity, Gloucester.

Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin.

Archäologische Bibliographie, Berlin.

Bulletino del Museo dell' Imperio Romano (in *Bull. della*

Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma), Rome.

Bulletino di Paletnologia italiana, Parma.

Historia, Milan and Rome.

Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Berlin.

Klio (with Beihefte), Leipzig.

Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità (R. Acc. Naz. dei Lincei, Roma), Milan.

Monumenti Antichi (R. Acc. Naz. dei Lincei, Roma), Milan.

Nuova Antologia di lettere, scienze, ed arti, Florence and Rome.

Revue Archéologique, Paris.

Romische Mitteilungen (des deutschen archäologischen Instituts), Munich.

Studi Etruschi, Florence.

Vorgeschichtliches Jahrbuch (I-IV only), Berlin and Leipzig.
Wiener prähistorische Zeitschrift, Vienna.

For maps see the *Atlante* accompanying F. L. Pullé's *Italia, Gente e Favelle* (Turin, 1927); Plates 16 and 17 in vol. vi of Ebert's *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, Berlin, 1925-26 (Italy, c. 500 B.C. and 300 B.C. respectively), and, for the later periods the new *Forma Italia* (scale 1 : 25,000, Rome, Danesi, in progress since 1926) and the *Edizione archeologica della Carta d'Italia* (1 : 100,000, Florence, R. Ist. geogr. militare).

There is a valuable bibliography,

Gamurrini, G. F., and Lazzeri, C., *Bibliografia dell' Italia antica*, Rome, 1, 1933 (in progress),

and the well-known

Mau, A., von Mercklin, E., Matz, F., *Katalog der Bibliothek des deutschen archäologischen Instituts in Rom*, Rome and Berlin, new ed., 1932,

is always useful. For the several regions of Italy bibliographies often appear in local journals such as *Rivista archeologica . . . di Como*; note also *Aevum* (Milan), which is publishing bibliographies on Histria; the *Archivio Storico per la Sicilia Orientale*; and the *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*—among many others. Ebert's *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, Berlin, 1924-32, contains an important article (Italien) by H. Obermaier and F. von Duhn (vol. vi, 1925), as well as separate articles on the islands and also on the more important individual sites. Useful summaries (Italian archæology and excavation; Roman history) appear annually in the *Year's Work in Classical Studies* (Bristol and London). The student should not overlook J. Déchelette, *Manuel d'Archéologie préhistorique*, Paris, 1908-1914 (in part reprinted, 1924), with the supplement by A. Grenier now appearing.

CHAPTER IV

ITALY: ANCIENT TRIBES AND THEIR DIALECTS

I. THE ART OF WRITING IN ITALY

FOR any knowledge of the ancient languages of Italy we are dependent obviously upon written evidence. Writing, however, appears to have been unknown in Italy before the arrival of the Etruscans. In fact, except for the Greek alphabets brought by the colonists of Magna Græcia and Sicily from their several mother-cities, every form of script¹ of which we have any knowledge in ancient Italy and the islands was derived from the old Etruscan alphabet. This in its turn was borrowed from the Greeks in a form which was affiliated with the "western" Greek variety, that is with χ , ϕ , and ψ in that order and with the value of ξ , ϕ , χ respectively, with η for h and with a sibilant μ (*san*)— m being the five-stroke ω —as well as with σ (*sigma*) but with no Ω . It is an unprofitable, and fortunately for our purposes an unnecessary matter to enquire into the history of the alphabet before the Greeks received or obtained it from a Canaanite or Phœnician source, but in Greek hands it was early differentiated into two groups, and from what may be called a "Chalcid-Etruscan" or "proto-Tyrrhenian" form (more precise definition²

¹ No account is taken here of the not very numerous Semitic and Iberian inscriptions of the islands (Malta, Gozo, Sicily—chiefly in the west, and Sardinia), or of the mainland, where Semitic inscriptions are still fewer and Iberian unknown, for the reason that it is only in the islands that they testify to anything more than mere isolated incidents of trade. For much later immigrant settlers (Nabatæan records at Puteoli, and late Hebrew cursive graffiti at Venosa and Taranto) see *C.I.S.*, Pars II, Tom. i, fasc. 2, nos. 157-159; *C.I.L.* 11, 6203 ff., 6402. The impermanent Phœnician settlements of western Sicily and Sardinia are dealt with in Chapter XVI. But both there and in Italy Semitic inscriptions represent a tradition totally foreign and for us quite unimportant, both epigraphically and linguistically, and may therefore be ignored for the present.

² Save that it may be added with confidence that the oldest Etruscan alphabet (see p. 230) was not derived from Cumæ.

is unwarranted) of the "Western" of these two groups were derived the alphabets used to write every one of the languages of which we have any record in ancient Italy and Sicily, Latin included, with the exception of Messapic (in south-eastern Italy) and Sicel (in eastern Sicily), and of course Greek, and (in Sicily and Sardinia) Phœnician. Of these Sicel was taken from the Chalcidian Greek alphabet in use in the Chalcidian colonies planted in Sicel territory, Zancle, Mylae, Naxos, Leontini, Catane, Himera, some of them on sites said by ancient authority to have been occupied previously by the Sicels; and Messapic from the Laconian Greek alphabet in use at Tarentum, with the conspicuous loss of the Υ (v)-symbol and with considerable modification due to the spread of the Ionic (Eastern) Greek alphabet.

No inscription native to Italy has yet been discovered older than the eighth century B.C. To that date are assigned two Etruscan inscriptions from Vetulonia.¹ The oldest non-Etruscan documents come from Picenum. The date of these, the "East-Italic" or so-called "Old Sabellian" inscriptions,² is difficult to decide.

On epigraphical grounds the southern group would be considered the more archaic than the northern group (from Novilara and the vicinity), but the archaeological evidence is quite contrary to such a conclusion. If the Novilara stelæ be dated as early as c. 650 B.C., which is the lowest possible limit that seems to be allowed by the material discovered with the Servici inscriptions, we should be obliged to argue that the letters were

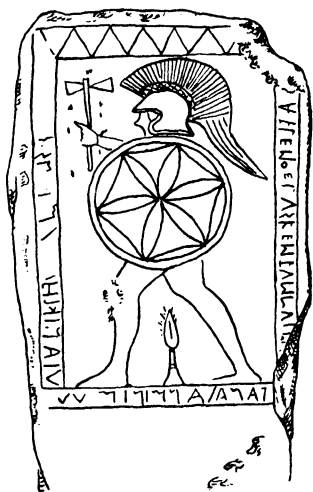


FIG. 45.—Etruscan Funerary Stele (C.I.E. 5213).

¹ C.I.E. 5213 (the epitaph beginning [a]uteleš feluskeš), from the "Tomba del Guerriero"; and the inscription on a bucchero cup from the "Tomba del Duce," see Falchi, I., *Vetulonia*, Firenze, 1891, pp. 135 f., and Plate 10, no. 14.

² *Præ-Italic Dialects*, ii, nos. 343-355, pp. 207 ff.; cf. p. 530.



MAP 3.—DIALECTS OF ANCIENT ITALY (OTHER THAN GREEK)

samekh was discarded almost at once and *san* quite early, though the latter survived in the regular Etruscan and Umbrian usage, and in that of nearly all the "prae-Italic" dialects; while *q* was inherited by Latin in a restricted usage (before *u*) that has lasted to this day. Nevertheless, in the Marsiliana alphabet we have what is essentially typical of the source or sources of most of the scripts used in early Italy. We cannot assert that the ivory tablet which bears it is not an imported object, alphabet and all; on the other hand, there is nothing to prevent us from thinking that it was engraved in Etruria. The alphabet itself, therefore, may fittingly be described as "proto-Etruscan" or "Chalcid-Etruscan".

Once this or an identical script had been introduced into Italy,

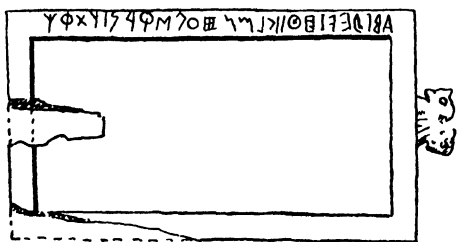


FIG. 47.—The Alphabet of Marsiliana d'Albegna.

perhaps at more than one point, it was rapidly diffused. Few indeed are the inscriptions which we possess that are themselves so old; but they gradually became more numerous, and before the end of the fifth century there are enough of them to enable us to enumerate, and often to describe with some detail, dialects which in all leave us with no part of the linguistic map of Italy, *c.* 400 B.C., an absolute blank even though in some parts the evidence is still very scanty. It is hardly necessary to point out that the history of the derivation and mutual relationships of these dialects is totally distinct from and never to be confused with that of the scripts which were employed to write them.

2. THE CLASSIFICATION OF DIALECTS IN ITALY

In order not to prejudice any of the issues that are as yet undecided, it will be well to preserve as far as possible a purely

geographical order in the account of the dialects that follows ; such an order interferes but slightly in the central parts of the peninsula with an arrangement based on linguistic kinship if it be remembered that Latin and its closest congeners together make a class of dialects within the Italic group, the other class being the Osco-Umbrian ; and again such a geographical order is itself but slightly disturbed if we begin by setting aside the intrusive and non-Indo-European Etruscan also on the west. The grouping of the Italic dialects is not a matter of dispute. There is still some disagreement about Etruscan, but we shall not find it difficult to reach at any rate a negative result, provided that we understand clearly what an Indo-European language is. As for the other dialects which are called "prae-Italic" in the sense that all of them were superseded sooner or later by one of the Italic dialects, usually by Latin itself, much remains to be done to determine their relationships both to one another and to other Indo-European tongues. Such results hitherto obtained as may be considered reasonably certain will be indicated as we proceed.

By "Indo-European" we understand a number of languages, spoken in the Old World chiefly in India and Europe and in intervening lands (whence the name), which are connected together by the joint possession, not through borrowing but, as the expression goes, "by inheritance," of a common system of sounds, no matter how greatly modified by changes peculiar to the several languages in the course of their long histories, a common system of inflexion and word-formation, a common method for the expression of syntactical relationships, and a common stock of words. All these features were accompanied originally by meanings, also held in common ; and all were subject to constant change by loss, addition, or other modification, so that even at the beginning of the historical period speakers of different Indo-European languages could no longer have understood one another. Indeed it is probable that in the locality from which the languages were originally diffused, dialectal differences had set in, and to that extent the statement that they once had linguistic features in common must be qualified. But the qualification does not seriously impair our definition. Moreover, the linguistic facts are such that they can be explained only by the assumption that the several Indo-European languages are modified forms of a much older original

language which may be called pro-ethnic Indo-European. This assumption, in its turn, compels us to believe that there were people who spoke such an original language (for language has no existence of its own, apart from the people who speak it), and those people are properly designated, in respect of their speech, as "Indo-European speaking".¹

3. ETRUSCAN

Now nothing is so certain as that the Etruscan language spoken in west-central Italy, for a time in Campania as well as Etruria proper, and known to us from a large number of inscriptions, not far short of ten thousand when all are published, from a fragmentary book, and from a handful of glosses, that is words explained by ancient authors, is in no sense Indo-European. It possesses virtually nothing of Indo-European vocabulary or accidence, nothing whatever of the Indo-European phonological system, and nothing that we can see of Indo-European syntax. On the other hand, evidence is accumulating that already suggests very clearly what the final conclusion will be, namely, that Etruscan belongs to an early stratum of Mediterranean speech now known to us rather imperfectly in Asia Minor and various places in the Ægean, particularly at Lemnos, where an inscription written either in Etruscan or in a language very closely related to it has been discovered. There is scarcely room any longer to doubt the Anatolian affinities of Etruscan. At the same time it is not improbable that the early Mediterranean stratum of language, presumably pre-Greek, extended into Italy, so that the Tuscans² (*Tusci*, *Τυρσηνοί*), who came to Italy from the near east, probably from Asia Minor, may quite likely have found in occupation of the soil of western Italy when they arrived there people speaking a language akin to their own. The attractive suggestion has been advanced that these are the *Rasenna* of tradition.³ Beyond this it is not yet possible to go. For it is nothing more than

¹ Not "Indo-Europeans" which is meaningless. The late Dr. P. Giles suggested the term *Wiros* in the sense of "Indo-European speaking folks," and some such term is urgently required, even if this one has not proved acceptable.

² See p. 87, n. 2, above.

³ Dion. Hal., 1, 30; see Kretschmer, *Glotta*, 20, 1932, pp. 219 ff.; cf. *id.*, *ib.*, 14, 1925, pp. 300 ff.; and in Gercke-Norden, *Einleitung*, ed. 3, 1, pp. 525 ff., 556 ff., especially p. 558, *Glotta*, 22, 1934, p. 204.

theory, supported only by hazardous though tempting conjecture, to postulate anything concerning the nature and affiliations of a proto-Indo-European stratum of language which the newly discovered Hittite documents of Asia Minor seem to demand as the source of Indo-European itself.

4. ITALY NORTH OF THE APENNINES

We may now take the remaining districts of Italy one by one and ask what dialects were spoken in them, say about 400 B.C., proceeding in a direction generally west and south. Histria, with which we begin, has so far nothing to offer except proper names. The evidence of these ¹ (for example *Pola*, *Polentii*, *Parentium*, *Pisquentini*, *Humago*, among the local names: *Galgestes*, *Galgestia*, *Ennius*, *Pletor*, *Pletoromus*, *Raecus*, *Raeconius* among the personal names) suggests that the pre-Roman dialect may have been Illyrian or have contained a substantial Illyrian element. But we have considerable evidence from which to form an opinion of the Venetic dialect, not only a large body of proper names ² and a few glosses,³ but also nearly two hundred inscriptions⁴ from Este, Padua, the Piave valley, and the Gurina. These last are well enough preserved and now well enough understood to make the general character of the dialect quite clear. It is certainly to be distinguished from neighbouring Indo-European tongues, with the possible exception of Illyrian. That is, it is neither Greek, nor Italic, nor Keltic, nor Germanic, though recently it has been shown ⁵ that Venetic (and Raetic, further west) possesses some features in common with the last-named that suggest a transitional region of speech from Greek and Italic in the south to Germanic in the north such as the very location of Venetic would indicate. There are indeed other features which make Venetic intermediate likewise between Greek and Italic themselves. Now there is no record, in this area, of any other ancient language than Illyrian, and the obvious assumption that Venetic should be classified as an ancient Illyrian dialect has in fact received confirmation so far as that might be expected from the meagre remains of Illyrian as

¹ Collected in *Prae-Italic Dialects*, 1, pp. 215 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 235 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, ii, pp. 202, 205 (*ceua*, *cotonea*, *samera*), p. 632 (*ceta*).

⁴ *Ibid.*, i, pp. 19 ff., with Whatmough, *Classical Philology*, 29, 1934, pp. 281 ff.

⁵ Whatmough, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 42, 1931, pp. 139 ff.

such.¹ There is one important criterion, however, in the classification of all Indo-European languages, namely, the treatment of the original palatal (\acute{k} , \acute{g} , \acute{gh}) and velar (g^u , g^u , g^uh) consonants, in regard to which the position of Illyrian dialects is still uncertain. The interpretation of the evidence is difficult, but, so far as it goes, it does indicate that Venetic at any rate preserved the palatals as stopped consonants.

North and west of Venetic we find remains of the dialect of the Ræti. This, too, shows some features which connect it in part with Illyrian, but besides its Indo-European element, which is also in part Celtic, it seems to have been influenced at a comparatively late date by Etruscan.² Rætic, as was pointed out above, like Venetic becomes gradually merged, so to speak, into Germanic. Especially interesting is the Rætic name of the wheeled plough (see p. 30 above) which, if not borrowed from Germanic (Old Norse *plōgr*, Old High German *phlouc*, Old English *plōh*) was itself the source of the Germanic word. But it must be observed that nearly all our Rætic evidence so far comes from the south side of the Brenner pass, though the Ræti lived also to the north of it, and further discoveries may modify our present view of it as a frontier dialect in which Celtic, Germanic, and Illyrian elements met.

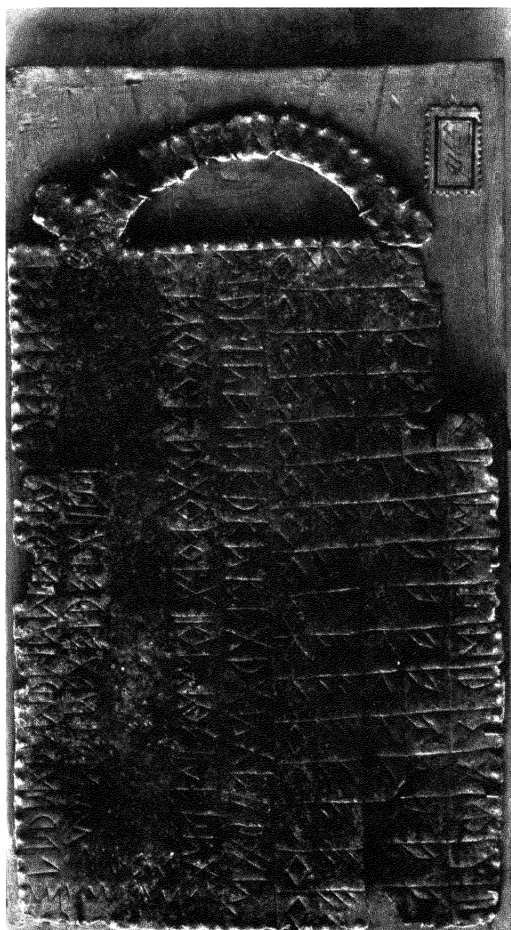
Moving still further west we come to an interesting but geographically restricted group of inscriptions discovered at various sites in the Swiss canton Ticino and near the western lakes (Como, Lugano, Maggiore, Orta), which are best called Lepontic³ since they cover an area which ancient authority assigns to the Lepontii. But the name is used in a geographical rather than a linguistic sense. For we have no references in ancient authors to a "Lepontic" dialect as such. On the other hand, the precise linguistic classification of these Lepontic inscriptions has been the subject of much discussion, some scholars tending to regard them as Celtic, others as Ligurian. It now seems quite certain on

¹ Pauli, *Veneter*, pp. 419 ff., Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, pp. 266 ff.; cf. *Glotta*, 21, 1933, pp. 120 ff.

² *Prae-Italic Dialects*, II, pp. 3 ff., 544 ff., 580 ff.; cf. Whatmough, *Glotta*, 22, 1934, pp. 27 ff.; Kretschmer, *Symbolae Danielsson Dicatae*, 1932, pp. 134 ff., has a somewhat different view, according to which the Etruscan element in Rætic would be due to the Rasenna rather than to the Tuscans, and the Indo-European element would be Umbrian rather than Illyrian and Celtic.

³ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 65 ff.

PLATE I



VENETIC ALPHABETIC TABLET (ESTE)

linguistic grounds that they are not Keltic; and improbable on geographical grounds that they are Ligurian, unless indeed we think of them as the records of a Ligurian colony which some archæologists claim to have traced in the region near Bellinzona (cf. p. 87, n. 1 above, p. 132 below). But linguistically they are to be distinguished from Ligurian, at least if the fifteen or sixteen glosses, and the proper names of Liguria,¹ which is all the record we have of Ligurian strictly so called, may be considered representative of the entire dialect. Nevertheless, it seems not unlikely to me that the Lepontic inscriptions preserve for us a form of Ligurian as modified by Keltic influence and that the title Kelto-Liguric proposed for them over thirty years ago, on the basis of Strabo's account² of "Kelto-Ligurians" in this part of Italy, is not an unfitting one. It is well, however, to point out that some similarity has been observed between Lepontic and Umbrian (as known from the Iguvine Tables) in the preservation of *ku* (Umb. *ekvine*, Lep. *kualui*) and in the substitution of *p* for *q*^u (Umb. *pīs* "who," Lep. *-pe* "and"),³ though not much weight can be given to this single resemblance when it is remembered that Lepontic material is very meagre as compared with Umbrian. Quite recently it has been suggested⁴ that successive waves of invaders speaking kindred dialects introduced into Italy the speech both of the Ligurians or *Ambrones* (as they call themselves) and of the Umbrians, whose national names would seem to be related (*Ὀμβροί*, *Umbri* : *Ambrones*). But the date which Kretschmer proposes for the incursion of the Ambrones is purely conjectural, and there is at least as much reason for supposing that the Lepontic inscriptions preserve the speech of the Ligurians of the Ticino as of hypothetical invaders from central Europe about 600 B.C. There is some evidence indeed which goes rather to show that Ligurian was established far earlier in Italy than the seventh century, and although we may not be prepared to believe that the neolithic inhabitants of the Ligurian riviera spoke a dialect from which the Ligurian that we know was directly descended, yet there is no

¹ *Prae-Italic Dialects*, ii, pp. 158 ff., 631, 1, pp. 355 ff. Whether the pre-Roman dialects of Elba and Corsica (perhaps also of Sardinia) were Ligurian, or related to Ligurian, as the ancients appear to have believed, there is virtually no evidence to decide.

² 4, 6, 3, 203 C.

³ *Prae-Italic Dialects*, ii, p. 69.

⁴ Kretschmer, *Glotta*, 21, 1933, pp. 112 ff.

serious objection to regarding it as descended from the speech of the early lake-dwellers who, as we have already seen, settled in the region from which the Lepontic inscriptions come. But it also must be borne in mind that in the historical period at least the Ligurians were no longer left in the possession of the coast and the plain, but had been driven up into the mountain valleys, so that it would be most natural to look for evidence of their language precisely in the sort of locality in which the Lepontic inscriptions occur.

Apart from the very large number of words borrowed from the Kelts, whose migrations and invasions are largely a matter of historical record, we have no evidence of their language in Italy save three inscriptions,¹ one of them indeed written both in Keltic and in Latin, despite the fact that they spread themselves widely in the peninsula. Perhaps they spread themselves too widely. Nevertheless, it is odd that the *ager Gallicus* itself, on the Adriatic coast, where they maintained themselves most securely, more so than in Cisalpine or even Transpadane Gaul, has so far disclosed no Keltic inscription. There are two explanations to be offered. In the first place, the Gauls south of the Apennines at least were simply vast marauding bands of freebooters, as ready to fight with one another as with Etruscans or Romans, so that they never succeeded in founding permanent settlements, and even in Cisalpine Gaul they are said ² to have been almost entirely absorbed into the older population as early as the second century B.C.; second it is doubtful whether those Gauls who invaded Italy could write before they did so, for the script of their three inscriptions in Italy (discovered at Novara, Todi, and at Zignago in the Val di Magra) was unquestionably acquired there—we may even conjecture that those three documents were engraved by native scribes at the behest of Gallic warrior chiefs. It is certain, however, that the language in which they are written is essentially the same as that preserved in the Keltic inscriptions of Gaul proper,³ that is it belongs to the Brythonic division of Keltic, known also (since it represented Indo-European *qʷ* by *p*) as *p*-Keltic. This division of Keltic, as is often pointed out, is parallel to the Osco-Umbrian division of Italic, with which it shares some other

¹ *Præ-Italic Dialects*, ii, pp. 170 ff.

² Polyb., 2, 35, 4.

³ Collected in Dottin, G., *La langue gauloise*, Paris, 1920.

PLATE II



KELTIC INSCRIPTION FROM NOVARA

peculiarities, just as both Italic as a whole and Keltic as a whole have a number of features in common, some of them being unknown in other Indo-European languages. These facts have some bearing on the classification of Lepontic as Kelto-Ligurian (that is Kelticized Ligurian), and on the suggestion that the same dialect has an affinity, though a remote one, with Umbrian. For this grouping gives us a chain of several links from Latin and its congeners through Umbrian and Lepontic to Keltic. It used indeed to be said that Italic and Keltic together formed a closely knit linguistic unity. We have already seen (p. 6 above) that there is another possible explanation of the features which they possess in common to the exclusion of other Indo-European speech. There is one other fact of the greatest importance in our study of the early languages of Italy. The Gauls were the last body of invaders to establish themselves in Italy during the Republic, and they were the only invaders later than the founders of the Villanovan and allied civilizations. So much is proved by archæology which is as ignorant as comparative philology of any hypothetical "proto-Kelts" imagined by some scholars. It follows that every dialect which we find spoken there, with the exception of Keltic itself, must be attributed to one or other of the peoples who had made homes for themselves in the peninsula before the fourth century. There is nothing new introduced into pre-Roman Italy after the end of the sixth century except Keltic itself.

5. THE ADRIATIC COAST

On the Adriatic coast of Italy have been discovered two groups of inscriptions, best described, in our uncertainty of their proper nature, by simple geographical names as Northern and Southern "East Italic" respectively.¹ Among these are some of the oldest inscriptions discovered in any part of Italy (p. 97 above). But even the transcription of the southern group from Grecchio, Belmonte, and some other sites in central and southern Picenum, in the country of the Marrucini and of the Paeligni, still presents many difficulties; and their translation has hardly advanced beyond the stage of mere guesswork. It is true that there is nothing in them that might not be Indo-European, much that seems as if it could

¹ *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, pp. 207 ff., with the Remark on p. 226.

hardly be anything else,¹ and a little that suggests very strongly an Illyrian dialect. But he would be a bold man who would venture to prophesy that these speculations concerning the linguistic character of the southern "East Italic" inscriptions will be substantiated. The case of the northern group from Novilara, Fano, and elsewhere is no better. They are written both in a different alphabet, not far removed from Umbrian and its Etruscan ancestor, and more legibly than the southern group; yet we are just as far from being able to translate them. It is certain that their dialect is neither Italic, nor Keltic, nor Etruscan; one peculiar feature about it is what may be called a Greek flavour (note such words as *thalû*, *isperion*, *soter*, *sotris*), but it is by no means Greek. The suggestion of Herbig² may in the end prove most fruitful, namely, that it is an Illyrian dialect of Illyricum proper where it had been subjected to Greek influence. If so, then, "East Italic" will together with Venetic and Messapic (cf. pp. 111 f.) form an Old Illyrian or Adriatic group of dialects in Italy. The interesting sculptured scenes on the backs of two of the stelæ bearing northern "East Italic" inscriptions, and also on some other stelæ discovered with them, may be mentioned now; they will be discussed at greater length in Chapter VIII.

6. UMBRIAN

At Gubbio and a few other places in Umbria to the west of Picenum have been found the documents that give us substantial information concerning the Umbrian dialect, at least as it was spoken at those particular places. The further reservation should be added that the Iguvine Tables inevitably present the language in the archaic and rather rigid formulæ of ritual usage and prescription. Even the latest of them should be read with this caution constantly in mind. Umbrian, together with Oscan in its different local varieties and a number of minor dialects in central Italy, forms, as we have just seen, one of the two groups into which the Italic dialects fall, the other being Latinian. The name "Italic" is sanctioned not only by the accepted modern usage, but also by the adoption of the epithet *Italic*i to designate the non-Latin

¹ *Præ-Italic Dialects*, ii, pp. 559 f.

² Ebert, *Reallexikon*, ix, 1927, p. 129.

PLATE III



"EAST ITALIC" INSCRIPTION OF GRECCIO

tribes (*socii*) in general¹ and the confederate tribes of the Social War (91-88 B.C.) in particular, when they struck coins bearing the name "Italia" in its dialect form *Vitellin*.² But the word is not strictly applicable to describe either tribes or dialects of 400 B.C.; Antiochus of Syracuse³ in his time made a line from Metapontum to the river Laos (between Lucania and the "ager Bruttius") the northern boundary of Italy, and its gradual shift northwards to the Rubicon and at last to the Alps was accomplished only by the end of the Republic;⁴ still less is the use of "Italic" by the archæologists to apply to the builders of the lake-dwellings and of the *terremare* and their successors justifiable.

7. THE MINOR ITALIC DIALECTS

Compared with Oscan the dialect of Iguvium is much broken down. The same remark applies to the Volscian dialect, represented only by a single inscription of four lines, but there is no good reason for separating it from the class of north Oscan. This class includes in addition the Italic documents of (1) the Marrucini, Paeligni, and Vestini; and (2) of the Aequi, Marsi, and Sabini, all three of which spoke dialects that belong properly to the Sabellian (i.e. Samnitic, cf. Latin *Sabellus* "Samnite," rarely "Sabine") or, to use the native form of the name, Safine dialects (cf. the Oscan ethnic adjective *Safinim*, nom.-acc. sg. neut.), as the minor dialects may collectively be called, though it is clear that they were subjected at a very early date to Latin influence. But their remains are too meagre to give us any clear idea of their characteristics. Even more closely connected with Latin was the dialect of Praeneste (which is well represented) and other Latian townships in the vicinity of Rome, where what is really no more than a rustic variety of Latin, as distinguished from urban Latin, was spoken. Faliscan too, spoken in the south-eastern plain of Etruria, with records from the two cities of Falerii

¹ Cf. *C.I.L.* I, ed. 2, no. 638, which seems to be the earliest example in Latin (132 B.C.).

² *Italic Dialects*, nos. 199 ff. For the sources on which the statements made in the next few pages are based see this work *passim*.

³ *Ap.* Dion. Hal., I, 35, cf. Strabo, 6, 254 C.; Arist., *Pol.*, 1329b; Thuc., 7, 33, so uses *Ἰταλία*.

⁴ See the account of Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde*, I, pp. 58-73, and of Sittl in *Arch. f. lat. Lexikographie*, II, 1900, pp. 120 ff.

(Cività Castellana and S. Maria di Falleri), despite certain marked peculiarities which differentiate it from Latin, was but a Latin outpost west of the Tiber and north of Rome, where it was strongly affected by Etruscan habits of speech.

8. OSCAN

Our knowledge of Oscan, however, is won chiefly from the remains of the dialect in the centre of the peninsular and in Campania. This variety may be called central Oscan. It is probable that the Romans first became acquainted with it in Campania as the speech of the *Osci* and hence used the same name (*Osca lingua*, *Osce fabulari*) also of the kindred dialects of central Italy, including Samnium. The tribes of the Hirpini and Frentani, as well as the Samnite tribes proper, certainly spoke tongues essentially the same as that of Campania (and of Lucania), and presumably they were all diffused from Samnium by means of many a "sacred spring" (*uer sacrum*).¹ In fact the local variations which they show, outside Campania, are unexpectedly slight. South Oscan comprises the dialects of Lucania, of northern Apulia—from Bantia by an odd accident comes the longest extant Oscan inscription, though upwards of seventy-five per cent. of all the known Oscan inscriptions were found in Campania—of the country of the Bruttii, and even of north-eastern Sicily, or rather the city of Messina after its seizure (c. 289 B.C.) by the Mamertines of Campania. Evidently Oscan was spoken over a far more extensive territory than Latin itself even in the middle of the third century, for the greater number of our Oscan inscriptions lie between about 300 B.C. and the Social War, which put an end to the use of the dialect for official purposes. Previous to the latter date it should by no means be thought of as a mere local patois, although perhaps after the Hannibalic War it had no chance of seriously rivalling Latin as the language finally to be adopted first all over Italy and then in western Europe.

9. GREEK

It is unnecessary here to do more than mention the several Greek dialects of the Greek colonies like Tarentum, Naples,

¹ Cf. Festus, 150, 34 L. (s.v. *Mamertini*), Strabo, 6, 268 C.

PLATE IV



Cumæ, and others scattered along the coasts of Magna Græcia and in Sicily, many of them almost as old as the traditional date of the founding of Rome and so tenacious of their own speech as to have defied successfully the spread of Latin for many centuries even into the Christian era and in a few places actually to our own day.¹ The dialects represented are chiefly west Ionic (or Eubœan) and Doric (Tarentine and Heracleian, together with Megarian, Rhodian, and Corinthian in Sicily); for although the Æchæans also founded colonies in Magna Græcia, the elements in their colonization were mixed and the inscriptional remains are scanty and unimportant. For us the significance of all of these linguistically lies in the influence² which they exerted upon the languages of Italy—not only upon Latin, but also upon Etruscan and Oscan.

10. CALABRIA

It used to be supposed that the remains of what is now generally called the Messapic³ dialect (Iapygian would perhaps be a better name) should be credited to a kind of barbarous or pre-Hellenic Greeks. But the true position of the dialect, independent not only of Greek but also of Italic, is quite certain. The inscriptional records are found as far north as Lucera in Apulia, perhaps even as far as Monte Gargano, but they do not become numerous until we reach the country of the Messapii, Calabri, and Sallentini in the ancient Calabria, where they extend down to the very Capo di Santa Maria di Leuca. They number over two hundred, and three of them are of considerable length. In addition we have about ten glosses, and a large number of proper names of the district. Taken altogether the evidence makes it quite clear that Messapic is properly an Illyrian dialect, which was introduced into Italy by the migration of Illyrian tribes, perhaps contemporaneous with the "Dorian" migrations in Greece, numerous and powerful enough to prevent the Greeks from colonizing the coast facing Greece. This Illyrian dialect agrees with Rætic in changing an original *ǵ* to *ǣ*, but not with Venetic, which preserved *ǵ*. But Messapic and Venetic are in agreement, if the most satisfactory interpretation that has yet been offered of

¹ See the authorities cited by Schwyzer, *Gr. Gram.*, 1934, pp. 94 f.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 153, 156 f.

³ *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, pp. 258 ff.

extremely difficult material be accepted, in their treatment of the original palatal and velar consonants (cf. p. 104 above). The few differences that have been definitely established among the ancient Illyrian dialects of Italy and Illyricum are perhaps best explained by the hypothesis of more than one wave of invaders who spoke dialects that had already been differentiated before they reached the lands in which we find them living at the beginning of the historical period. On the other hand, it still remains to be shown how far Messapic and Venetic are actually akin.¹ The chief point, however, that both were Illyrian is not in doubt.

II. THE ISLANDS

There still remain the islands, Sicily, Sardinia, Elba, and Corsica—for there is no evidence as to the rest. Let us begin with Sicily. Both archæological evidence and the tradition (cf. p. 339 below) would lead us to expect traces of the speech of the Sicels on the mainland, and in fact there are indications that the Sikel dialect was closely related to more than one variety² of tongue spoken there in ancient times. But the dialect remains of the “ager Bruttius,” as we have already seen, appear rather to be south Oscan.³ We are left, therefore, with four⁴ Sikel inscriptions, half a hundred glosses, many local names, and a few personal and divine names. The evidence, such as it is, still points most strongly in the direction of comparing Sikel with Latin, but some similarities to Ligurian also have been observed and in nomenclature at least there are distinct correspondences with Illyrian.

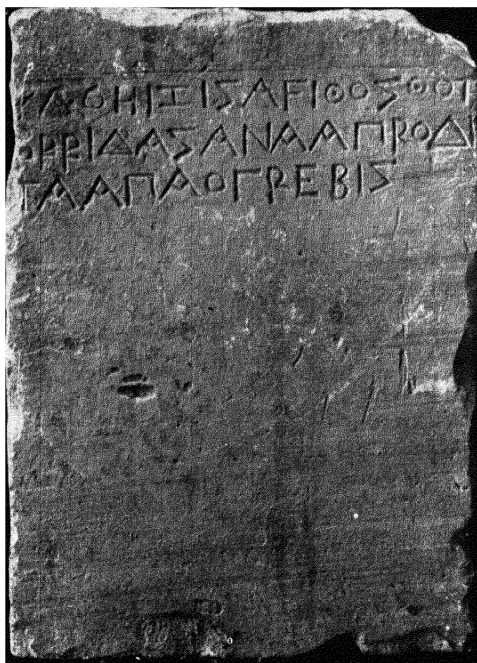
¹ I believe that a careful investigation of *all* the evidence (including the proper names), which is now easily accessible, would show closer kinship than some modern authorities realize.

² See *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, pp. 438 f.

³ This remark applies, I think, to the inscription published by Orsi, *Neapolis*, I, 1913, pp. 165 ff. (cf. *B. Ph. Woch.*, 35, 1915, p. 1035; Bursian's *Jahresb.*, 176, p. 47), which seems to have escaped notice. The puzzling inscription of Croton (see *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, p. 613, no. 4 *bis* (iii) —Sikel?) I leave to the solvers of puzzles with the warning that Croton was originally Iapygian (*ibid.*, p. 258).

⁴ For Sikel see *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, pp. 431 ff. The alleged “Sican” inscription, *ibid.*, p. 613, no. 4 *bis* (ii), is not yet deciphered, and the recently published Sikel (?) inscription (*Rivista Indo-greco-italica*, 17, 1933, pp. 197 ff.) cannot be regarded as very well authenticated in view of Ribezzo's account of its curious history since August, 1929. I refrain from expressing a definite opinion now, but there is more than one feature of the inscription which seems to me suspicious.

PLATE V



MESSAPIC INSCRIPTION OF GALATINA



LEPONTIC INSCRIPTION FROM CAMPACCIO

These last are important in view both of the evidence of archæology (see pp. 80 ff. above) and of the testimony of ancient writers¹ which suggest a very early occupation of eastern Sicily, the "ager Bruttius," and Calabria by Sicels, overlaid subsequently, at least in Calabria by Illyrians and in the "ager Bruttius" by "Safines".

Finally in Elba, Corsica, and Sardinia there is an almost complete lack of pre-Latin evidence. Of Indo-European languages other than Latin, which was introduced into Sardinia at a very early date, in part by Faliscan settlers,² possibly Ligurian is to be recognized.³ But the place-names suggest other linguistic elements, and it may be that Iberian was one of these, though there is nothing that can be considered quite decisive.⁴ There are Semitic inscriptions, both Phœnician and Punic (that is Carthaginian), from western Sicily as well as from Malta and Gozo and from Sardinia itself,⁵ where Greek⁶ was early cut short in the historical period, just as the Phocæan colony of Alalia in Corsica was destroyed (c. 535 B.C.) by Carthaginians and their Etruscan allies. It is quite uncertain whether one of the Ægean "Peoples of the Sea," the *Šardana*, mentioned in Egyptian records of the thirteenth century, have even the remotest connexion with the island of Sardinia; and it is neither more nor less probable that *sardoφsano* in an "Eteocretic" inscription from Praisos refers to Sardinia,⁷ or to kindred of an early Sardinian people, than that *φokiasiale* in the pre-Hellenic inscription of Lemnos (cf. p. 102 above) refers to Phocæans either of Ionia or of the west.

12. A GENERAL SURVEY

Of the pre-Latin dialects enumerated in this chapter certainly Greek and Oscan, and probably Etruscan and Messapic, were still known as late as the end of the Republic or later. Seleucus, who lived about the time of the Social War, speaks of Messapic in terms which imply that it survived in his own day. The emperor

¹ Examined in *Italic Dialects*, p. 15 (Remark).

² *C.I.L.* I, ed. 2, no. 364 (not much later than 238 B.C.).

³ *Præ-Italic Dialects*, I, pp. 354, 356; II, pp. 148, 162, 165.

⁴ See also the articles *Korsen, Sarden*, by Herbig in Ebert's *Reallexikon*.

⁵ *C.I.S.*, Pars I, Tom. 1, nos. 122-163.

⁶ *I.G.* XIV, 605-611.

⁷ Cf. *Glotta*, 22, 1934, p. 199.

Claudius wrote a history of Etruria for which he is said to have used original sources—possibly Etruscan, with the help of interpreters. Some of the Oscan *graffiti* of Pompeii were scribbled on the walls not long before the eruption of Vesuvius which destroyed the city in A.D. 79. In general it is by no means improbable that many of the dialects of rural Italy survived in remote localities in the mouths of a few even into the second century of our era, and they have left their mark on modern Italian in such forms as *tafano*, *bisfolco*, or the Neapolitan *unnici* “eleven”. But they had begun gradually to be replaced by Latin from the close of the fourth century B.C.

It may be helpful to the student if we summarize the account of these dialects by a tabular enumeration :

1. *Non-Indo-European*: Etruscan; and, in the islands, Phœnician.

2. *Indo-European* :

(a) Greek.

(b) Keltic.

(c) Illyrian: Venetic, “East Italic” (?), Messapic, and Rætic which appears to be Kelto-Illyrian.

(d) Ligurian with Lepontic, probably to be considered Kelto-Ligurian.

(e) Sicel (perhaps closely related to Latin ?).

It is convenient to describe all these, except the first-named, but including (b) Keltic so far as it is recorded in Italy, as “*præ-Italic*”. Then we have,

(f) *Italic*, viz.

(i) Latin-Faliscan,

(ii) Osco-Umbrian,

including the minor Samnitic dialects, which taken together are commonly described as the “*Italic*” dialects, as distinguished from Latin. These dialects possess a number of features in common which so distinguish them, the chief of which may be briefly indicated here :

(1) *p*, *b* corresponding to Latin *qu* (*c*) and *u*- (initially, other sounds in special conditions), for example :

Osc. *pīd* “quid,” *kúmbened* “conuēnit”.

(2) Medial *f* for Latin *b*, *d* from I. Eu. *bb*, *db* respectively, e.g. *alfo*- "albus," *mefio*- "medius".

(3) *sm* and *sn* preserved, e.g. Pael. *prismu* "prima" (cf. Lat. *pris-cu-s*), Umb. *snata* "wet" (cf. Lat. *nare*).

(4) *-kt-* becomes *-ht-*, *-pt-* becomes *-ft-*, e.g.

Osc. *úhtavis* "Octavius," Umb. *rehte* "recte".

Osc. *scriftas* "scriptae".

(5) Medial and final syncope, e.g.

Osc. *actud* "agito," Umb. *fiktu* "figito".

Osc. *búrꝥ* "hortus," *humuns* "homines," Umb. *pihaz* "piatus".

(6) Final *-ā* becomes *-ō* (written *ú* in the Oscan, *u* in the Umbrian alphabet), e.g. Osc. *víú* "uia," Umb. *mutu* "multa, fine"; in the Latin alphabet, Osc. *touto* "civitas," Umb. *uatuo* "exta (?)".

(7) Of differences in morphology we may note the following: of *ā*-stems the gen. sg. in *-ās* (like old Latin *familias*), nom. pl. in *-ās*; of *ō*-stems the gen. sg. in *-eis* (Osc.), *-es* later *-er* (Umb.) borrowed from the *i*-stems, nom. pl. in *-ōs* (written Osc. *-ús*, Umb. *-us*); a fut. indic. in *-s-*, originally subjunctive, e.g. Umb. *ferest* "feret," and the pres. inf. act. in *-om*, *-um*, e.g. Osc. *ezum*, Umb. *erom* "esse".

(8) There are many differences in vocabulary, e.g. the stem *ber-* appears in the sense of Latin *uolle* "wish, take". Two brief extracts will suffice to illustrate at once the kinship with and difference from Latin, thus:

(a) Oscan:

inim tük tribarakkiuf pam Nuvlanús tribarakattuset
inim úttiuf Nuvlanúm estud "et ea ædificatio quam
 Nolani ædificauerint et usus (sc. eius) Nolanorum
 esto".

(b) Umbrian (observe *-r-* for an older intervocalic *-s-*):

panta muta fratri Atiieñiu mestru karu, pure ulu
benurent, arferture eru pepurkurent herifi, etantu mutu
arferture si "quantam multam fratrum Atiediorum
 maior pars, qui illuc uenerint, flameni esse oportuerit poposcerint, tanta multa flameni sit".

13. ITALIC AND KELTIC

But the Italic group of languages as a whole, Latin and Faliscan as well as the dialects, have to be considered together when we ask the question which of the Indo-European languages, if any, stands in closest relationship to them. The answer has been indicated more than once, namely Keltic. The most important evidence on which this answer is based is as follows:

(1) The extension of *-ti-* stems by the suffix *-ō(n)-*, e.g. Lat. *mentio*, Ir. (*er-*)*mitiu* (stem *-ti-n*), but Skt. *mati-*.

(2) The superlative in *-is-emo-*, e.g. Lat. *aeger-rimus* (older *-simus*), Gaulish *Ουξισαμα* "highest," cf. *Auximum*, Welsh *uchaf* (*f* for older *-m-*).

(3) The gen. sg. of *ō*-stems in *ī*, e.g. Lat. *agri*, Ogham *maqi* "fili," but compare also Lepontic *ualaunali*, Venetic *rako-i* (?), Messapic *blatθihi* "Blossii" (in Messapic *ihī* is merely a device for writing *ī* as distinguished from *i*).

(4) The multipersonal passive in *-r-*, e.g. O. Ir. *-berar* like Umb. *ferer* "ferent, feratur," Lat. *itur* "folks go," O. Ir. *sechethir*, Lat. *sequitur*. Comparable forms, however, are now known in Hittite and Tocharish.

(5) The subjunctive in *ā*, e.g. O. Ir. *do-bera*, Lat. *ferat*, and the future in *b*, O. Ir. *carub*, Latin *amabo*.

(6) The assimilation of *p* to a *qʷ* in the following syllable, e.g. I. Eu. **penqʷe* "five" became **qʷenqʷe* in pro-ethnic Keltic and in pro-ethnic Italic; and the representation of *qʷ* as *p* in Osco-Umbrian and in Brythonic Keltic, so that we have Lat. *quinque*, O. Ir. *coic* but Osc. *pompe-*, Welsh *pump*.

(7) Marked correspondences in vocabulary, e.g. Lat. *uates*, O. Ir. *faith* "poet".

14. ITALIC AND GERMANIC

Compared with these agreements between Italic and Keltic¹ there is little to be found to support the old-fashioned and discredited hypothesis of a Græco-Italic unity. It is well to point

¹ On the general question of the interpretation of these and similar correspondences elsewhere see Meillet, *B.S.L.*, 32, 1931, pp. 1 ff.; *Rev. ét. arm.*, 10, 1930, p. 184; Kretschmer, *W.P.L.*, 19, 1932, pp. 270 ff.; *Glotta*, 14, 1925, pp. 300 ff. Meillet also in *C.R. Acad. Insc. et Belles Lettres*, 1930, pp. 149-150, *ibid.*, pp. 86 ff.

out, however, that Italic shows some remarkable correspondences with Germanic as well as with Keltic,¹ of which these are the most outstanding :

(1) Two dentals in juxtaposition become -s(s)-, e.g. Latin *nīsus* (older **nissos*), cf. O.H.G. *gi-wis* "certain". This is true also of Keltic (*ro-fes* "it was known") as contrasted with Sanskrit -*tt-* (*vittāh* "known") and Greek -σ- (*āiotos*).

(2) The development of voiced fricatives (and later, in part, voiced stops) from breathed fricatives of pro-ethnic Germanic and pro-ethnic Italic, e.g. Latin *super-bus* with *b* from Ital. *f*, I. Eu. *bh*, Goth. *sibun* (*b* pronounced almost like English *v*), O.E. *seofan*, O.H.G. *sibun* with *b* or *f* (*v*) from pro-ethnic Germanic *þ*, older *f* (I. Eu. *p*); Goth. *midjis*, O.E. *mid*, Latin *medius* with *d* (older *ð*, i.e. a sound like English *th* in *then*) from I. Eu. *dh*; O.H.G. *wagan*, O.E. *wægn* (now "wain,") Latin *nectus* (older **neg-tos*) with *g* from I. Eu. *ǵh*. The development in Germanic is, it is true, dependent upon the position of the I. Eu. accent where breathed stops (as in the words for "seven," I. Eu. **sep(t)ṃ*) are involved, and the same cannot be said of Italic; but there is the same general treatment of pro-ethnic fricative consonants in both groups of languages.

(3) The fusion of the Indo-European aorist and perfective aspects into a single preterite tense, accompanied by a progressive loss of reduplication.

(4) The perfect in *u*, e.g. Latin *nōuī*, O.E. *cneow* "knew".

(5) The demonstrative *is*, *ea*, *id*, cf. Goth. *is*, *ja*, *ita*.

(6) The fusion of the same two stems **bheu-*, **es-* of Indo-European to fashion a "suppletive" substantive verb, Latin *est*, *fuit*, cf. O.E. *is*, *beo* "I am".

(7) The comparative adjective in -*ios-*, -*is-*, e.g. Goth. *sutiza* "sweeter," Latin *suavior*; Goth. *mais*, cf. Osc. *mais*, Latin *magis* (probably for an older *mais*).

(8) Perfect active forms with a long vowel in the stem, e.g. Goth. *sētum*, *qēmum* like Latin *sēdimus*, *uēmimus*.

¹ See, for example, Günther, H. F. K., *Rassengeschichte des hellenischen und des römischen Volkes*, Munich, 1929, pp. 69 ff.; Kluge, *Urgermanisch*, ed. 3, Strassburg, 1913, pp. 4 ff.; Hirt, H., *Handbuch des Urgermanischen*, 1, Heidelberg, 1931, pp. 13 f.; *id.*, *Indogermanische Grammatik*, 1, Heidelberg, 1927, pp. 56 f.; *id.*, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, ed. 2, Munich, 1925, p. 269.

15. SOME PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

The reader will remember that in Venetic and Rætic evidence is forthcoming that stamps these Illyrian or partly Illyrian dialects as intermediate in some respects between Germanic and Italic, and in Ligurian evidence that indicates a similar transition from Italic to Keltic—precisely such idioms as we might naturally expect to find when we recall not only the relative geographical positions of these languages in historical times but also the partial agreement of Italic and Keltic on the one hand and of Italic and Germanic on the other in certain linguistic phenomena.¹ It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the languages of ancient Italy were transmitted from a source somewhere north of the Alps. We have already reviewed in the previous chapters the anthropological evidence for the immigration of “Alpine” man from central Europe, and the archæological evidence for the transmission of bronze and early iron age civilizations from the same general region. It cannot be doubtful that these three distinct kinds of evidence, gathered from distinct and independent sources, agree so exactly as to convince us, by their cumulative force, of the correctness of the interpretation which we have given to them. Within the outline thus broadly drawn the sequel will fill in the details. Here we may remark that the agreement between such an Indo-European inheritance in Italic as Latin *aes* “bronze” (cf. Umb. *ahesnes* “aenis”), *uicus* “village” (cf. Umb. *vuku* “ædes”), *cremare* “cremate” (cf. Umb. *krematra* “burnt,” acc. pl.) and the type of civilization observed in the bronze age villages inhabited by an inhuming population can hardly be accidental. Linguistic evidence drawn from a wider field proves that the primitive “Wiros” (cf. p. 102, n. 1 above) were by no means savages. They had a slight knowledge of metals (certainly not yet of iron), were acquainted with some form of agriculture, implying perhaps individual ownership of land (*ager*), and with a number of domesticated animals. Their social organization was sufficiently developed and firmly enough established to enable them to maintain its main features unimpaired during their wanderings and to preserve them in their new

¹ There are certain other agreements between Keltic and Germanic which it is unnecessary to specify here.



MAP 6.—THE TRIBES OF ANCIENT ITALY

homes; above all to retain and impose upon peoples of alien speech their own tongue.

16. THE TRADITION

They were, however, as we have seen, ignorant of writing. It is not astonishing, therefore, that there is no mention, direct or indirect, in the Italian tradition of any such migration of peoples from the north as we have deduced. The invasions were so ancient, and perhaps also so discontinuous (cf. p. 85 above), as never to have been crystallized into legend in the same fashion as the "Dorian" migrations were in Greek story, or, if they were, to have perished from folk-memory before they were ever written down; indeed the Greek parallel is not really a true one, for the "Dorian" migrations were preceded in Greece by still earlier movements of which there is no written record. There are also other reasons for the lack of this tradition, namely, that when the peoples of Italy began to be made the subject of such records, under Greek inspiration, Rome was already important enough to concentrate attention mainly on her own history and achievements; and that the historians themselves, trained in a Greek school of thought, "discovered" or invented all sorts of absurd links between Greece and Italy that vitiate their work. The native element contained in their farrago of theory and legend is slight, and its historical merit insignificant, so far as concerns the first three or four centuries with which it professes to deal. As for Rome herself, the Gallic catastrophe of 390 B.C. destroyed the earliest records of the city's history. We may not, however, ignore completely the brief but continuous narrative of the early occupation of Italy, by supposed "aboriginal" and by immigrant or invading tribes, preserved for us in Livy and in Dionysius of Halicarnassus and in considerable measure based upon older writers such as the Siciliot Antiochus, Philistus, and Timæus; nor the scattered notices which modern authorities have laboriously collected from the works of Herodotus, Thucydides, Polybius, Strabo, Dio Cassius, Diodorus Siculus, Varro, the elder Pliny, Florus, Festus, and the rest. It is important, too, to try to steer a middle course between the extreme scepticism which would sweep all ancient written testimony aside as worse than useless, and the uncritical adoption of any particular scrap from an ancient



MAP 7.—THE CULTURAL REGIONS OF THE EARLY IRON AGE

The student will find it instructive to compare maps 5, 6, 7. The heavy line drawn south from the Adriatic (map 7) marks the separation (in central Italy) between inhuming tribes (to the east) and cremating tribes (to the west).

author which serves (or may be made to serve) the theory of a modern one—for the day of a plenary acceptance and repetition of the legendary “history” of early Italy is long since passed.

It is well to begin by pointing out that nothing worth repeating is to be gleaned from the ancients concerning the rôle played in the prehistory of Italy by “Pelasgians” (as settlers from Greece) or by “Aborigines” (as autochthonous). Both terms so far as they have any intelligible meaning at all, apply properly not to political or tribal unities, but rather to prehistoric populations in the mass, represented, if by anything, by stages of civilization in localities and at periods which are but very vaguely indicated in our sources. The “Pelasgi” in any event correspond to nothing that either archaeology or philology can deal with; and the “Aborigines” are, in no better case, though it is barely possible that in *Aberrigines* (*Ἀβερρύγινες*), *Aborigines*, *Βορείωνοι*, and other variant forms in our records, at least in those contexts which suggest that the tradition intended an ethnic designation, should be recognized the name of an ancient people corrupted by popular etymology.

Be that as it may, let us summarize the tradition very briefly. It mentions “Ligurians” as the most ancient people, not only of Italy, but also of a large part of the west, and as kindred with the “Siculi” (according to some accounts they were a “Ligurian” tribe), who lived in the mainland before they were driven into the island of Sicily, previously occupied by “Sicani”. The ancients themselves regarded them as Greek in origin (Cato quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus,)¹ or else of indeterminate origin. Tradition also assigns a large part of the territory of northern Italy to a people which it regarded as of great antiquity among the tribes of Italic stock² and, previous to its conquest by the Etruscans, of great wealth and prosperity, namely, the “Umbri,” who stretched as far north as the Alps, east to the tributaries of the Danube (the Drave and Save), and west to the Tyrrhene coast at least as far south as the Tiber. But, inconsistent with itself, this same tradition elsewhere³ plants a different people, the “Veneti,” whom it calls Illyrians, in the north-eastern part of this extensive territory of the “Umbri”. Illyrians it would also

¹ I, II.

² Plin., 3, 112; cf. Hdt., I, 94; 4, 49.

³ Hdt., I, 196.

reveal to us in central Italy, particularly on the Adriatic coast,¹ and again in Apulia and Calabria.² As for the Etruscans themselves, Herodotus brings them by sea from Lydia,³ joined *en route* by "Pelasgians" from Imbros and Lemnos according to Anticlides,⁴ whereas Dionysius⁵ counts them autochthonous, though in this view he stands almost alone and, it would seem, in opposition to the conviction of the Etruscans themselves about their own origins. Again according to Herodotus (*loc. cit.*), they arrived in Italy on the west coast, according to Hellanicus⁶ on the Adriatic coast at one of the mouths of the Po, where Spina became an Etruscan city. Finally there is the well-documented account⁷ of the Greek colonization of Sicily and southern Italy, uncritical as it is in detail, as for example in the far too remote date which it assigns to the foundation of Cumæ, the very settlement, perhaps, thanks to the part taken in its founding by the Græans of Bœotia, that was responsible for the introduction into Italy of the name by which the Romans learned to call all the Hellenes, "Græci," though many years elapsed before "Græcia capta ferum uictorem cepit".

These notices, as will be seen from the references given in the footnotes, are not taken from a connected or consistent account. They are isolated fragments in which in some cases at least there appears to have been preserved a grain of truth. We shall meet a similar state of affairs when we come to deal with the cults and religion of primitive Italy. Only the merest scraps of genuine folk-memory and folk-lore survive, while the names of eponymous ancestors, Latinus, Sikelos, Daunus, and the rest, like the names interpolated to fill the geneological gaps between them and the names of historical personages, are not even genuine folk-memory, so much later does the dawn of history come in Italy than in Greece and the Near East.

Chief works of reference (together with some of the more important articles in periodicals):

von Blumenthal, A., *Die iguvinischen Tafeln*, Stuttgart, 1931.

Bottiglion, G., *Elementi prelatini nella toponomastica corsa*, Pisa, 1929.

¹ Plin., 3, 110 (cf. 112); Paul. ex Fest., 248 L.

² Plin., 3, 102; Paul. ex Fest., 60 L.

⁴ *Ap* Strabo, 5, 2, 4, 221 C.

⁶ *Ap* Dion. Hal., *loc. cit.*

³ 1, 94.

⁵ 1, 30

⁷ E.g. Thuc., 6, 3, 5, for Sicily.

- Braun, A., *Stratificazione dei linguaggi indoeuropei nell'Italia antica*, in Atti d. R. Ist. Veneto di Sc., Lett., e Belle Arti, 93, 1933-34, ii, pp. 989 ff.
- Buck, C. D., *Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, ed. 2, Boston, 1928.
- Buonamici, G., *Epigrafia Etrusca*, Florence, 1932.
- Conway, R. S., *The Italic Dialects*, Cambridge, 1897; and in Part I of the *Prae-Italic Dialects* (The Venetic Inscriptions). The articles by Sommer (*I.F.* 42, 1924, pp. 90 ff) and Herbig (in Ebert, *Reallexikon*, vol. 14, 1928, pp. 114 ff.), overlooked by Conway, should also be consulted.
- Devoto, G., *Gli antichi Italici*, Florence, 1931.
- Hirt, H., *Die Indogermanen*, Strassburg, 1905-7.
- Kahrstedt, U., in *Klio*, 12, 1912, pp. 461 ff.
- Karo, G., in *Bull. di Paleon. Ital.*, 24, 1898, pp. 144 ff.
- Kretschmer, P., *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, Göttingen, 1896 (pp. 126 ff. 244 ff.); and in Gercke und Norden, *Einleitung*, I, Heft 6, ed. 3, 1923 (*Sprache*), pp. 102 ff.
- Meillet, A., *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue latine*, ed. 3, Paris, 1933.
- Norden, E., *Alt-Germanien*, Leipzig, 1934, pp. 217 ff.
- Pais, E., in *Atti dell' Acc. di Arch., Lett., e Belle Arti di Napoli*, 21, 1901, pp. 91 ff.
- von Planta, R., *Grammatik der oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte*, Strassburg, 1892-97.
- Schrijnen, J., in *Neophilologus*, 7, 1922, pp. 223 ff.
- Stolte, E., *Der faliskische Dialekte*, Munich, 1926.
- Trauzzi, A., *L'onomastica fluviale d'Italia*, Bologna, 1930.
- Whatmough, J., *The Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy*, Part III (vols. ii and iii), London and Cambridge (Mass.), 1933, with Supplements, i-iii (*Classical Philology*, Chicago, vols. 29 and 31, 1934 and 1936, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Cambridge, Mass., vol. 47, 1936).

The epigraphical linguistic evidence is contained chiefly in the collections by Conway and Whatmough (above), supplemented by the inscriptions found in Italy as recorded in the four well-known great corpora of inscriptions, viz.:

Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum.

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (i, iv, v, vi, ix, x, xi, xiv, xv), supplemented now by the new *Inscriptiones Italiae* (Rome, Libreria dello Stato).

Inscriptiones Graecae (xiv).

Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum (Pars I, Tom. i).

Progress in the study of the dialects of ancient Italy may be followed in the following periodicals:

L'Année philologique, Paris.

Bibliotheca Philologica Classica, Leipzig.

Bursians Jahresbericht, Leipzig.

Glotta, Göttingen.

Gnomon, Berlin.

Indogermanische Forschungen, Berlin and Leipzig.

Indogermanisches Jahrbuch, Berlin and Leipzig.

Revue des études latines, Paris.

Rivista Indo-greco-italica, Naples.

Philologische Wochenschrift, Leipzig.

See also p. 94 above.

CHAPTER V

LIGURIA

I. BOUNDARIES

THE ninth *regio* of Italy in Augustus' division of Italy was more extensive than the modern Liguria. It extended from the river Var in the west, some distance beyond Ventimiglia, to the river Magra on the east which enters the sea in the gulf of Spezia ; northwards from the coast it ran beyond the northern slopes of the maritime Alps and the Apennines to the river Po, which formed the boundary as far down-stream as to a point just beyond the confluence of a southern tributary the Staffora, Clastidium (Casteggio) a little further east being counted Ligurian by Livy.¹ But if a considerable but scattered body of ancient testimony may be trusted, Ligurians (*Λίγυες*, *Ligures*) were originally spread over a still much more extensive area in western Europe including, in addition to the Augustan Liguria, territory extending into central Italy on the south and east, and into Spain on the west. It thus comprised a large part of southern Gaul, of north-western and central Italy and of the valley of the Po. The northern confines of the Ligurians were but vaguely defined, but extended at least as far north as the Canton Ticino in Switzerland ; and before they were separated first by the Etruscans and then by the Gauls, they must have stretched at least as far east as the Oglio and the Ticino, the western boundaries of the Ræti and the Veneti. To this wide extent of the Ligurians we must add the Ligurian element in the population of Corsica and Elba. Ligurian pedlars, called "Sigunnai" or "Sigunnes," seem to have been known even down into the valley of the Danube, but the *Λίγυες* of Asia Minor must surely be unconnected. Of a very

¹ 32, 20, 7. This and the other ancient notices are given in *Præ-Italic Dialects*, I, pp. 352 ff., II, pp. 65 ff., 147 ff., to which the reader is referred for the rest.

extensive territory, then, the Ligurians of historical times possessed but remnants, the strip of coast between the gulf of Genoa and the Apennines, together with the mountain valleys of the Apennines themselves, and of the Alps, where isolated fragments of them might be found as far east as the upper Ticino around Bellinzona.¹ To these they had been restricted by successive conquerors—the Etruscans, the Gauls, and finally the Romans.

But the widely diffused, if most ancient, “Ligurians” of this tradition are only too widely diffused to form a recognizable unit² of any sort, or at any rate a unit which we can conceive as practicable or intelligible in the light of our evidence—whether anthropological, archæological, or linguistic. Certainly there is no warrant, not even that of convenience for attaching the name “*Liguri*” or “*Ibero-Liguri*” to the neolithic inhabitants of Italy, whose own name or names for themselves we are likely never to know. Manifestly it is begging the question to give them a later name, even if it be supposed that the Ligurians of the historical period were the direct and all but unmixed descendants of the neolithic population. Perhaps it would be wisest to treat the name “Ligurians” of that part of the tradition which is concerned with the most ancient period, in the same way as that in which we have treated the even more dubious titles “Aborigines” and “Pelasgians”. In that case we should not admit that it appertains to anything more definite than a stage of civilization, at once the results of a prolonged evolution and the cradle in which ethnic and political units were slowly rising to be completely differentiated only much later. We may grant, however, that there is a remarkable coincidence between the area of distribution of local names of various ages—ancient, medieval, and modern—formed with the help of an element *-sc-* (e.g. *Nemasca*, *Giubiasco*) in north Italy, Corsica, southern France, Alsace-Lorraine, Switzerland and Bavaria (being most thickly concentrated in Liguria proper, Corsica, the Maritime Alps, Provence, the Dauphiné, Savoy, the Ticino and Piedmont), and the area described in the tradition as Ligurian. But there are other ways of accounting for the suffix than to identify it as characteristically

¹ The Lepontii, see *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, p. 70.

² Compare the recent criticisms of Berthelot, *Revue archéologique*, sér. 6, II, 1933, pp. 72 ff., 245 ff.

Ligurian. It is not exclusively Ligurian, and linguistically the history of its usage in Ligurian territory even in the narrower sense is not altogether clear. In no event, however, is there any ground for supposing it to go back to neolithic times.

2. ORIGINS

It is highly probable, as we have already seen (p. 48 above), that the neolithic population was essentially of "Mediterranean" race and that this racial element continued to predominate right down to Roman times. Moreover, the archæological evidence so far as it goes, for it is available chiefly from the coastal strip of land, seems to indicate an unbroken continuity of development throughout the same period, and an absence of invasion or even of strong external influence. In fact no clear distinctions of chronology have been established, perhaps cannot be established.¹ We may go so far as to say that archæology has virtually nothing to tell us about any ancient people in Liguria proper to whom the name "Ligurian" may justly be given.² It is therefore idle to ask more precisely what their racial origins and connexions were.

3. THEIR CIVILIZATION

The problem is still complicated in later times, though there are one or two portions of it subject to solutions that may be regarded as substantially correct. We may begin by accepting the findings of archæology that during the chalcolithic and bronze ages the civilization of Liguria proper, practically untouched by the immigrations from the north and the revolution in the way of life that was taking place further east in the Po valley, merely continued the natural development of the civilization of previous

¹ Cf. von Duhn, *Graberkunde*, pp. 10 ff. I quote von Duhn's exact words. "So ist denn gerade in den ligurischen Hohlengrabern eine reinliche Scheidung zwischen solchen der neolithischen, kuprolithischen, Bronze- oder ersten Eisenzeit praktisch kaum durchführbar, um so weniger als die Zahl unberuht gefundener Gräber gering, und es schwer ist, stets Wohn- und Grabinventar auseinanderzuhalten. Auch wissenschaftlich hätte solche Scheidung wenig Wert, weil eben der Kontinuität der einfachen Kulturformen, in denen die Bewohner der Liguria maritima bis in die Zeit ihrer völligen Unterwerfung unter Rom leben, eine historische Entwicklung kaum in die Erscheinung treten lässt." See also Randall-MacIver, *Iron Age in Italy*, pp. 102 f.

² This is the judgment also of Randall-MacIver, *Italy Before the Romans*, p. 101.

ages. Of peculiar interest are the Ligurian rock-engravings from numerous valleys around Monte Bego near the Colle di Tenda. These have generally been assigned to the bronze age, but it may be pointed out that a recent estimate of date would put them early in the Christian era.¹ They include representations of human figures alone, or accompanied by oxen, of human figures engaged in ploughing or other agricultural operations, of wheels, ploughs, and what have been explained as sheep-folds, huts, and the like. It is difficult not to be reminded by them of ancient descriptions of the Ligurians as thin and wiry, short of stature and dark-complexioned, a hardy and warlike people, winning a difficult livelihood from the soil, but also seafarers and interested in commerce, if not very scrupulous. They are represented also as dwelling entirely in villages under a tribal organization. But it is easy to see that the nature of their land, especially the mountainous parts of it, hindered the spread of culture. It was a forest land, producing timber, cattle, sheep, hides, honey, and beasts of burden. For a long period wine and oil had to be imported.

In the early iron age Ligurian civilization must have undergone some modification, even though there is no evidence of any change in their racial make-up. The Golaseccan group of early iron age sites, which progressed on lines independent of the other contemporary groups in Italy, barely touched even the fringe of the Ligurian area. Doubtless the inhabitants of Liguria were gradually brought under the general influence, as sporadic discoveries show, first of the early iron age civilization and then of the La Tène civilization introduced north and east of them by the Gauls. There is evidence, too, of extensive commerce from and through Etruria, much of it with Campanian regions. In due course after the end of the Second Punic War the Romans began a long-drawn-out process of reducing Liguria to subjection.

4. DIALECT

Our knowledge of the Ligurian dialect properly so called is extremely slight, but the evidence, so far as it goes, indicates beyond all question, that it was Indo-European. Cited among

¹ M. C. Burkitt, *Antiquity*, iii, 1929, pp. 155 ff.

others as Ligurian words are *asia* (some kind of grain, perhaps a variety of rye or barley), *bodincus* an adjective meaning "of unmeasured depth," λεβηρίς "cony-rabbit," *salunca* "valerian, nard," all of which are Indo-European. Moreover, the proper names of the district are also Indo-European, e.g. *Comberanea*, *Porcobera*, *Berigiema*, *Bergalei*, *Biuelius*, *Bormiae*, *Stoniceli*, *Lemuris*, *Lebriemelus*, *Intimilium*, *Rondelius*, *Quiamelius*, and many others. Not only that, *Berigiema* and *Rondelius*, for example, cannot be Italic; *Porcobera* and *Bormiae* can be neither Italic nor Keltic. It would appear, therefore, that we have traces, scanty as they are, of a dialect that is neither Italic nor Keltic, and for which neither history nor archæology has any other name than Ligurian. As for the large number of names in *-sc-*, the chief difficulty that they present, namely, that this formant appears almost exclusively as an extension of *a*-stems (for example, *Vinelasca*), two explanations are possible, (1) that the type was set by the very common names of rivers in *-a*, such as *Eniseca*, *Macra*, or (2) that it began in common nouns in *-a*, such as *pala*, *barga*. It is also said that a somewhat parallel situation is observable in at least one other Indo-European language.¹ But, as a matter of fact, there are other formative elements quite common in Ligurian proper names, and also Indo-European, for example *-co-*, *-in-co-*, *-elo-*, *-ati-*, *-enno-*, *-unno-*, so that it is easy to give altogether undue weight to the peculiar frequency in Liguria of *-a-sc-* over *-osc-* and *-isc-*.

It is noteworthy that three common nouns and perhaps as many as eight proper names are recorded both as Ligurian and Sicel,² a fact of great importance in the classification of both those dialects. Another important fact is that the Indo-European velar consonants *g^h*, *g^h*, *g^h*, became *q* (or *c*), *b*, and *b* respectively in Ligurian, thereby distinguishing it from other Indo-European tongues.³ Now since Ligurian is thus shown to have been neither Italic nor Keltic, but still Indo-European, there arises the question at what juncture this Ligurian form of Indo-European speech was established in the locality in which we find

¹ Cf. *Prae-Italic Dialects*, II. p. 631.

² *Ibid.*, p. 438. Any reader who will study carefully the records of these two dialects may easily add for himself other instances of agreement.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 590.

it. Was it the speech of the neolithic people who lived there undisturbed? Or were they Indo-Europeanized at a later date, and if so at what date? Did it come in at the same time as the early lake-dwellers or their successors, the builders of the *terre-mare*, or with the Golaseccans or Comacines? These are the only possibilities, for it cannot have been introduced by the Gauls, who entered Italy over the eastern passes of the Alps, from whose Keltic speech it is clearly distinguished, and between whom and the Golaseccans neither archæological nor historical records reveal the slightest trace of any intrusion of any other people or culture. There is no evidence in support of any Ligurian invasion conjectured¹ to have taken place in the sixth century B.C. But the lake-dwellers and their successors, and the Golaseccans, though within the wide territory assigned to the primitive "Ligures" of tradition, are geographically far removed from Liguria proper; they occupied a region practically identical with that in which Lepontic inscriptions are discovered, a fact which seems to be highly significant for "Lepontic" but not for Ligurian. Either, therefore, we must suppose Ligurian, which is in one important respect, as we have just seen, linguistically intermediate between Keltic and Italic, to have been introduced by one or the other of these peoples who between the chalcolithic and the La Tène periods occupied the western lake region, and gradually to have spread southwards, in some way by some means at some time of which we have no clear indication, into Liguria proper; or else that Ligurian is descended from the neolithic speech of Liguria, that is to say, that Ligurian is a dialect, modified in the course of time by inevitable changes, but directly descended from the speech of the neolithic inhabitants of the population, who in that case must have spoken a language which, if we could hear it, we should recognize as Indo-European or at least as proto-Indo-European. Neither of these theories is free from difficulties. The first is the one which would command the assent of most investigators, though I cannot see that it is any easier to accept than the second. There is after all no correlation between Liguria and the lake-dwellers or any of the peoples who succeeded

¹ By Kretschmer, *Glotta*, 21, 1933, pp. 112 ff. If by this "Ligurian" invasion Kretschmer means the Golaseccans, his theory would become more probable, but the name "Ligurian" would be utterly unjustified.

them in the same region. On the other hand, if the archæological evidence is rightly interpreted, it would seem to compel us to decide in favour of the second view.¹ Difficult as that view also is, and as yet unsupported by positive linguistic evidence yet it should be clearly realized and honestly admitted that there is no evidence against it. The truth simply is that there is no linguistic evidence whatever of such antiquity extant in Italy. The current assumption that no Indo-European language and no language related to Indo-European could possibly have been spoken in Italy before the beginning of the bronze age is nothing but assumption pure and simple, as arbitrary as unnecessary. Here more than anywhere else it is of the greatest moment to avoid the error of making either "race" or culture, and especially difference of funerary rite and the like, a criterion of language, or language a criterion of race. The possibility of an early infiltration of Indo-European-speaking people is not disproved by merely negative evidence. We must be content then to leave the question asked above as being still *sub judice*, merely pointing out the two answers which are possible but refusing, if we respect the truth, to pronounce definitely between them. At the moment it seems to the present writer that already the balance of evidence is slightly in favour of the second answer, but if that should ever definitely be disproved, then the other would hold the field; and of the alternatives which it presents, perhaps that of ascribing the linguistic remains which we have been considering to the Gola-seccans is the more attractive—in that case we should be substantially in agreement with Kretschmer's view; but it would be necessary to designate them by some other name than "Ligurian".

5. THE TICINO BURIALS

An important point to be weighed in this difficult problem is the discovery of inhumation burials attributed to "a peace-loving colony of hard-working people,"² apparently middlemen settled near Bellinzona in control of a great trade-route which passed through the Ticino valley. They are distinct from

¹ This conclusion has been reached independently also by Homo, see *L'Italie primitive*, Paris, 1925, p. 59.

² Randall-MacIver, *Iron Age*, p. 95, cf. *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, pp. 71 ff.

the Golaseccans and Comacines further south. "The usual theory which is propounded [to account for their origin, and especially for their burial rite of inhumation] . . . makes them Ligurians. . . . The suggestion is that a considerable number of Ligurians migrated, at a date . . . about the end of the seventh century, from the western plain of the Po to the country around Bellinzona."¹ Among the more important sites is Giubiasco itself, which has yielded no fewer than ten Lepontic inscriptions. From Campaccio, not far away, comes a Lepontic inscription² which is of exactly the same type as those found further south and which reads

teromui : kualui

two names, both dative singular masculine, strikingly different from the Keltic inscriptions either of Italy or of Gaul, with the initial *ku-*, that reminds us rather of the Ligurian names *Quadiates* (or *Quariates*) and *Quiamelus*, not to mention the termination *-ui* for which Keltic shows *-ū*. There is also a Lepontic inscription from Mesocco in the valley of the Moesa, along which a branch of the same trade-route ran, and where the ancient local name *Mesiates* is said to have been that of a Lepontic tribe. Again Civiglio, a late Comacine site, is also the place of discovery of a Lepontic inscription. Extremely important is the occurrence of a Lepontic name *kriop*³ both at Giubiasco and at Ossuccio (on Lake Como). Yet another Lepontic name at Giubiasco,⁴ if the reading *erimia · i ·* is correct, re-appears in a Venetic⁵ inscription (*· e · xetor e · r · iimoh kelo*) where it is followed by a name (*kelo*) that is also Messapic.⁶ That this is no mere accident appears from the fact that the Lepontic name *slaniai*⁷ is found nowhere else in north Italy except in Venetic territory where it is found several times⁸ in the form *Stlania* with an initial sound-pattern (*stl/-* later *sl/-*) that is noteworthy as having survived, though not Latin, in the Latin pronunciation of north Italy.⁹ It is abundantly clear, in fact, that the name-material of the Lepontic inscriptions has

¹ Randall-MacIver, *loc. cit.*

² *Ibid.*, nos. 265, 279; cf. 310.

³ *Ibid.*, 31 c; cf. *er-mo-n* (no. 143)?

⁷ *Ibid.*, 269.

² *Prae-Italic Dialects*, II, no. 267.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 262.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 415.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, p. 264.

⁹ See Whatmough, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 44, 1933, pp. 95 ff., and especially p. 115.

affinity with that of north Italy rather than of Gaul, and this is one good reason for regarding them as representing a dialect which at any rate is not pure Keltic. We have already seen (p. 104 above) that "Lepontic" is still the best name to give to them, though it is likely that their dialect is to be counted Ligurian influenced by Keltic. There has been much discussion of the question what their true classification is, but it is at least now certain that they are not Keltic in the same sense as the Keltic inscriptions of Gaul or of Italy.

6. THE LEPONTIC DIALECT

These Lepontic inscriptions, if we except the legends on coins which inevitably became very widely diffused in the course of trade, two stray inscriptions on easily portable objects found in Lombardy, and the single inscription of Mesocco which seems to have been a trading outpost, have all been found within a very circumscribed area, fifty miles east to west by thirty-five miles north to south, at sites dotted about lakes Como, Lugano, Maggiore, Orta. It is impossible to regard their dialect as Gaulish for the following reasons:

(1) The dative singular ends in *-ai*, *-ui*, *-ei*, where Keltic has *-ī*, *-ū*, *-ī* (?), in the *ā*-stems, *ō*-stems and consonant-stems respectively.

(2) I. Eu. final *-m* is preserved (e.g. *pruiam*, *uinom*) whereas in Keltic it became *-n*.

(3) The word *pala* meaning "grave-stone" or the like has an I. Eu. *p*, which in Keltic is lost, cf. Old Irish *all* "rock" for **palso*- (cf. Latin *sepelio*, Umb. *pelsa*-?).

(4) On the other hand, as we have just seen Lepontic *kualui* seems to show *qu* or *ku* preserved, which in Gaulish becomes *p*.

(5) Corresponding to the frequent *pala* the Keltic idiom is *lokan* (with the same meaning).

(6) In the Lepontic inscriptions we regularly find a system of personal names comparable to the Italic system, but different from the Indo-European and Keltic system, that is it regularly used double names, *prænomen* and *gentilicium*, instead of compound names. Contrast, for example, the inscription quoted above like Latin "Maarco Caicilio" as contrasted with Keltic *anokopokios*, *setupokios*, *Epopennus* and the like.

(7) The name-material itself, as we have seen, suggests comparisons rather with other dialects in Italy than with Gaulish. Very conspicuous is the unusual frequency of names in *-alo-* (e.g. *piuotalui*), which has no parallel in Keltic. Some names are demonstrably not Keltic, e.g. *alios* instead of **allos*, cf. *Allobroges* and *alla*¹ "alud," O. Ir. *all-* in composition, or **alios*, **alós*, cf. O. Ir. *aile*—Lat. *alius*, Greek ἄλλος and (Cypr.) αἶλος.

7. ITS CLASSIFICATION

But the linguistic position of Lepontic is not easily defined. It would seem that I. Eu. *q^u* became *p*, as in Keltic but not in Ligurian, where it was preserved. On the other hand, if *uenia* means "wife" and is cognate with Greek γυνή, then *g^u* became *u-* initially as in Latin (*uenio*, Greek βαίνω), though it is possible that Lepontic like Ligurian had *b* from *g^u*. The difficulty of explaining Ligurian *qu*, *b* from *q^u*, *g^u*, respectively, where Lepontic has *p*, *b* (or *u-*?) respectively, is best met, I believe, by supposing that the labialization of the voiced consonant (*g^u*) set in at an earlier date than in the breathed consonant (*q^u*), so that we have a situation similar to that of Attic Greek which has β (and φ) even before ι, where δ (and θ) would have been expected from *g^u*, *g^uh*, as in βίος, ὄφιος, whereas τ (not π) regularly appears for *q^u* (τίς). Nevertheless, in view of Lepontic *p* from *q^u*, as in *-pe* "and" (cf. Latin *-que*, Greek τε), it is perhaps wiser to admit some Keltic influence and to call the dialect "Kelto-Liguric".

8. THE EVIDENCE OF ARCHÆOLOGY AND TRADITION

We are confirmed in this conclusion by the evidence of tradition, and in fact by the evidence of archæology. Strabo not only regarded the Gauls and the Ligurians as distinct in race;² he also was familiar with *Κελτολίγυες*³ or "Kelto-Ligurians," just as Livy speaks of the Taurini as *Semigalli*.⁴ The compound *Κελτολίγυες* can only mean Kelticized Ligurians, not Kelts living in Liguria. Moreover, the Taurini, of whom the Lepontii were a tribal subdivision,⁵ are sometimes described as Ligurians,⁶

¹ Schol. Iuv., 8, 234.

³ 4, 6, 3, 203 C.

⁵ Cato *ap.*, Plin., 3, 134.

² 2, 5, 8, 128 C. His word is ἑτεροεθνείς.

⁴ 21, 38, 5.

⁶ Strabo, 4, 6, 6, 204 C., Plin., 3, 123.

sometimes as Kelts;¹ and from other evidence of a like nature it is clear that there was recognized in ancient times an area in which the two racial elements, an older Ligurian and an invading Keltic one, were inextricably mixed.

On the archæological side we have seen above that there is good reason to believe that a Ligurian colony established itself in the Ticino at the northern end of Lake Maggiore about 600 B.C. But the Lepontic inscriptions of Giubiasco and elsewhere belong to the later graves of those cemeteries which unquestionably come down to late La Tène times, the last stage of independent pre-Roman life in Cisalpine Gaul. The Giubiasco graves,² which are typical, range from the sixth to the second century B.C. in a sequence admirably and convincingly illustrated by the

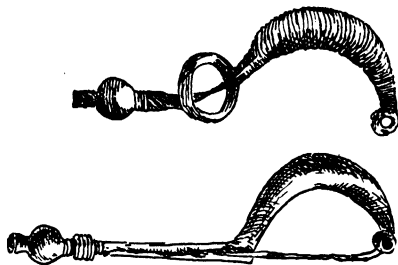


FIG. 48.—Fibulæ from Giubiasco.

fibulæ. There is a notable absence of weapons, which suggests a peaceful people, and a corresponding abundance of ornaments, rings, bracelets, pendants and the like, and a quantity of metal work in a rather barbarous style, decorated with repoussé and engraved

designs. Of special interest is the unexpected discovery that the amber from the Bellinzona graves came not from the Baltic but from Sicily: we recall at once the Lepontic inscription³ recording the gift of Naxian wine (if it was from the Sicilian Naxos) to Latumarus and Sapsuta—*latumarui sapsutaipe vinom našom*.

But before leaving the Lepontic inscriptions let us recall that many of them are found further south than Giubiasco, in an area that corresponds almost exactly with that of the Golaseccan and Comacine types of early iron-age civilization at an earlier date; for we may dismiss the early lake-dwellers as having played no

¹ Polyb., 3, 60, 8-11.

² See Randall-MacIver, *Iron Age*, pp. 96 ff. For the Keltic period reference must still be made to Déchelette (with the supplement by Grenier), pending the publication of the second volume of von Duhn's *Italische Gräberkunde*.

³ *Præ-Italic Dialects*, ii, no. 304. It is perhaps worth noting that *ligurium* was the Latin name for "yellow amber" (*ibid.*, p. 164).

essential rôle in the development of north Italy, while the *terra-maricoli* lived much further east. If the Comacines, who appear at the very beginning of the iron age, be thought of as having introduced the Indo-European speech that we call Ligurian (see p. 131 above), then since Lepontic is itself to be counted a Kelticized form of Ligurian, it becomes important to consider the character of their civilization.¹ It may be briefly summarized here, though it must be clearly realized and constantly remembered that geographically it is located north of the boundary of the Augustan ninth *regio*.

Two centres must be distinguished, one near Golasecca at the southern end of Lake Maggiore, the other near Como at the southern end of the lake of the same name, whence Randall-MacIver speaks of Golaseccans and Comacines. He regards the former as possessing a culture sufficiently distinguished from that of the Comacines to be marked off as a definite subdivision. But the whole is in general uniform and with its funerary rite of cremation fundamentally part of the iron-age culture found also at Este and Villanova. Its authors are considered, therefore, to have been part of the same race of central European and Danubian origins. Among the Comacines proper, especially at sites round lakes Varese and Como, remains have been found corresponding to the periods Benacci I and Benacci II at Bologna. The Hungarian and other types of imported sword point very clearly to trade following much the same route as the original migration from the eastern end of the Alps through the Valtellina to the head of lake Como. Even Vadena (near Bolzano), where a Rætic inscription has come to light, partakes of the Comacine culture; presumably some of the Comacines had halted and stayed there during the general westward migration. We have

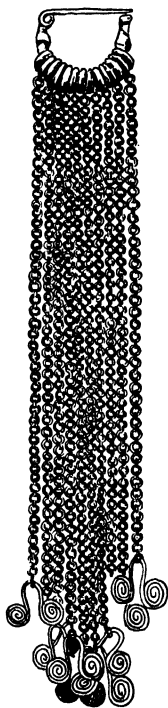


FIG. 49.—Bronze Fibula with Chain-work and Pendants.

¹ Randall-MacIver, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 ff., von Duhn, *op. cit.*, pp. 117 ff.

already seen that the Bellinzona cemeteries cut it short in the north, the funerary rite there being inhumation. There are a few other sites of the early Comacine period marked by quadrilateral razors or characteristic fibulæ, as Malgesso (Varese), Moncucco, Villa Nessi, San Fermo and, most ancient of all, Albate. The middle Comacine period (Valtravaglia, Rebbio, Albate) corresponds to the Arnoaldi period at Bologna. The use of chain ornament, probably imported, but typical of the Como district, now makes its appearance. But whereas the early period seems to have gone its own way unaffected by much outside influence, importations from the Atestines and from Etruria begin to come

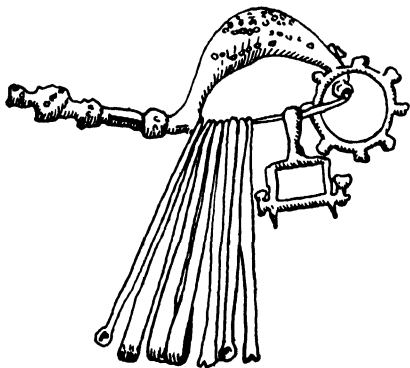


FIG. 50.—Bronze Fibula (late Sanguisuga-type from Palestro), with Toilet Implements attached.

in by the end of the middle period, notably the palettes of the same general type as that bearing a Rætic inscription discovered at Padua (see p. 168 below). And with such traffic as is indicated by these objects no doubt came also the Lepontic alphabet which belongs to the "Sub-Alpine" or "North Etruscan" scripts. In the late Comacine period, which was brought to an end by the arrival of the

Gauls there was an active commerce in full course as shown by the abundant amber, and considerable prosperity as shown by a large number of gold and silver objects, including what we should call complete manicure sets of these precious metals. Not only the Certosa fibula (as a mark of date) and many definitely Etruscan objects, but also the peculiar late Comacine "projecting arm" type of fibula should be noted. It was a late Comacine tomb at Caviglio that yielded the Lepontic inscription *alios* cited above;¹ and a large number of sherds of various dates, some much earlier, bearing single letters in the Lepontic alphabet came from the same general region.² Just as

¹ From *Prae-Italic Dialects*, II, no. 284.

² *Ibid.*, II, p. 103 (note xvi).

PLATE VI



INSCRIPTION OF GALLARATE

a few Lepontic documents come from the plain of Lombardy, so also there are but few late Comacine graves there.

Among the Golaseccan sites on the Somma plateau is Gallarate, the source of two Lepontic inscriptions,¹ one of them a complete sentence on an enormous grave-stone which reads

pelkui pruiam teu karite . . . pala

and may be translated² "Belgo maiestatem-propter ponitur

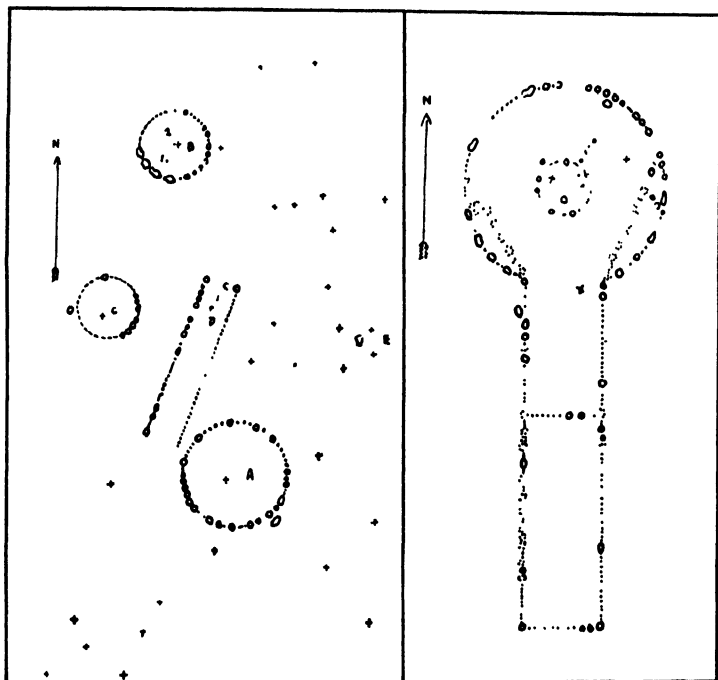


FIG. 51.—Golaseccan Burials.

(*ad lit. creatur*) . . . (hoc) monumentum". The characteristic feature of the Golaseccan burials is that the ossuary was regularly enclosed in a circle of unworked stones. The suggestion that this was derived from Switzerland, where similar circles belonging to the early iron age are known, must await further evidence

¹ *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, nos. 300, 300 bis.

² *Ibid*, II, p. 554.

in confirmation or refutation. But some of the rather poor tomb furniture suggests analogies both with Histrian products and with Novilara material (Picenum), probably best explained as due to exchanges by trade. The famous Sesto Calende bronze situla, however, with its crude *pointillé* decoration is doubtless ultimately of Certosan derivation: with it were found a bronze helmet and

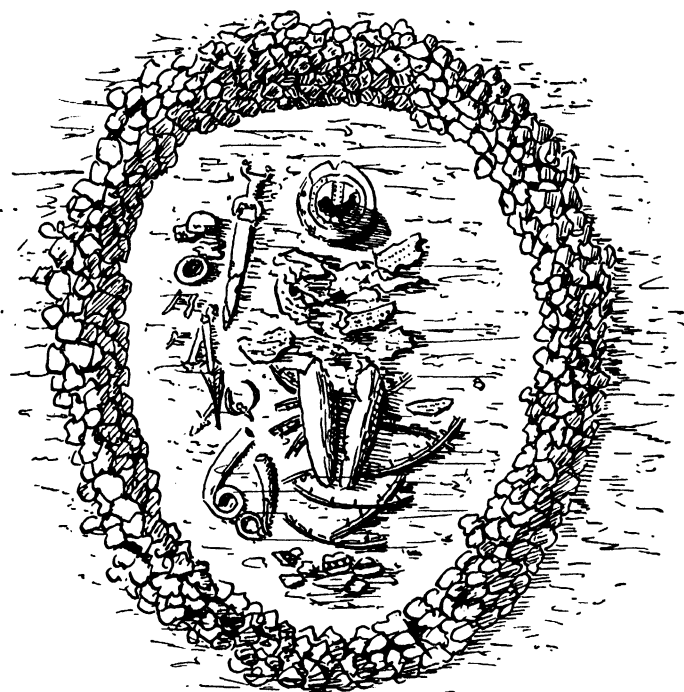


FIG. 52.—Tomb at Sesto Calende.

greaves, and an iron spear, bit, and portions of an iron chariot. The current division of Golaseccan material into two periods on the basis of the pottery has been shown by Randall-MacIver to be erroneous. We have but a single period, corresponding roughly to the Arnoaldi period at Bologna. It is, therefore, later than the oldest Comacine settlements, but there seems to be no good reason for counting Golaseccans and Comacines different in race or origin.

9. THE CITIES OF LIGURIA

It remains to mention some of the ancient towns—few in number owing to the nature of the country—which started to spring up by the time the Romans began to be interested in Liguria. Genua was in Roman power by the beginning of the second century, and to and beyond it the coast-road was gradually prolonged and at last carried as far as the “*prouincia Narbonensis*”. The “*via Iulia Augusta*,” so called because it was restored by Augustus in 14 B.C., ran from Placentia to Dertona (whence the *via Postumia* ran to Genua), and thence to *Aquæ Statiellæ* where it divided into a southern road running down to *Vada Sabatia* on the coast, and a northern one through *Augusta Bagiennorum* and *Pollentia* to *Augusta Taurinorum* (Turin). Dertona was the only colony.

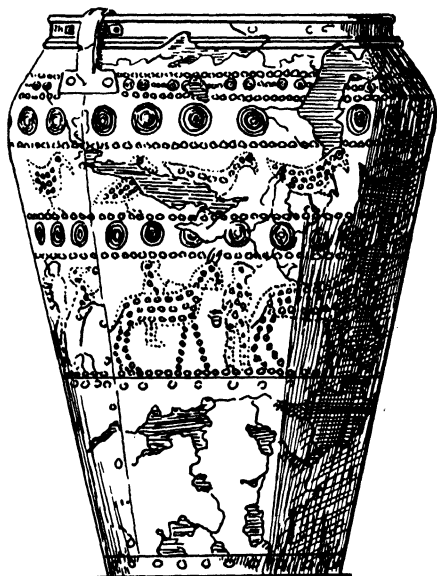


FIG. 53.—The Bronze Situla of Sesto Calende.

Three very interesting Latin documents are important both historically and for the large number of Ligurian proper names which they record for us. The first is the “*Tabula Genuatium*”¹ of 117 B.C., which gives the provisions laid down by Rome for the settlement of disputed boundaries between the Genuates and Veituri—*in the same year the Acta Triumphorum* record a victory *de Liguribus Stoeneis* who lived well to the east.² The second is the “*Tropaeum Alpium*”³ recording

¹ *C.I.L.* 5, 7749 (= 1, ed. 2, 584); *Prae-Italic Dialects*, i, p. 360.

² See the authorities quoted in *Prae-Italic Dialects*, i, pp. 363, 453.

³ *C.I.L.* 5, 7817, cf. 7231; *Prae-Italic Dialects*, i, pp. 363, 365.

the subjugation of Alpine tribes by Augustus ; only fragments of the original survive, but the text has been completely restored from the copy of it preserved by the elder Pliny. The third is a document of Veleia¹ in Æmilia. The inhabitants of this town were Ligurian by race. The inscription itself, which dates from soon after A.D. 102, records the provisions of a permanent charitable endowment established by Trajan for the maintenance and education of nearly 300 children of the district. Its interest for us is that it preserves the names of the estates (and of their owners) that were involved in the financial arrangements made to safeguard this endowment. It may be added that there is extant a similar *tabula alimentaria*² of A.D. 101 relating to a similar endowment, also established by Trajan, involving owners again of Ligurian extraction, the *Ligures Baebiani* who had been carried off from the neighbourhood of Luna in 180 B.C. and planted in Samnium not far from Beneventum. The *Ligures Corneliani* (the names are from the consuls of 181 B.C.), carried off at the same time, were planted at a site now unknown, but the two settlements provided for exiles numbering 47,000 in all. Yet despite these and other strong measures taken against the Ligurians about the same time, they remained turbulent, and it was not until 14 B.C. that they were finally reduced to dependence on Rome.

10. COINAGE

Some knowledge of the commercial activity, at least of the Lepontii and other Ligurian tribes just before the Roman domination, may be gleaned from their native coinage.³ Not only the wide diffusion of their coins, but also the varied origin of the types, is important. Three groups of coins may be distinguished : (1) a silver and bronze coinage of the Lepontii themselves, of the Massiliot silver standard, and showing a well-known but exceedingly debased Massiliot type—on the obverse, the head of Diana, and on the reverse a lion. These coins belong to the second century B.C. and bear names of native issuing princes or magistrates, some of them distinctly Keltic. They have been

¹ C.I.L. 11, 1147 ; *Præ-Italic Dialects*, i, pp. 378 ff.

² C.I.L. 9, 1455 ; *Italic Dialects*, i, p. 173.

³ *Præ-Italic Dialects*, 11, pp. 124 ff.

found at numerous sites in Gallia Cisalpine and the Canton Graubünden and evidently had a wide circulation. Those from the Graubünden and the Rætic Alps seem to have followed the trade-route mentioned above and marked not only by the distribution of manufactured objects through the western lake region but also by the Lepontic inscription of Mesocco. Next (2) we have a group of gold coins discovered near Aosta, in the Great St. Bernard Pass, and in the Cantons Wallis and Argau in Switzerland. These are best assigned to the Ligurian Salassi who lived west of the Lepontii. The type is copied, again much debased, from a type that enjoyed a wide distribution in central Europe in the second half of the third and in the second centuries B.C., a bronze issue of Thasos of about 280 B.C. But the standard is, strangely enough, based on the Roman gold standard, being equivalent to six Roman scruples, and it is doubtless to be connected with the Roman gold coins of the same weight issued c. 209 B.C. Apparently this standard had reached Upper Italy and had been copied there for the purposes of international trade during the Second Punic War. A lower limit of date is fixed by the Roman annexation of the gold workings of the Salassi in the valley of the Dora Baltea in 143 B.C., for after that date, if gold coins were struck at all, they could not have borne the names of native princes or magistrates. In this group of coins such names are not Keltic, but Ligurian and Italic: *kasilos* for example is also Umbrian. Finally (3) there are three silver coins all from Provence, where they may be assigned to the "Ligurian" Salluvii and Cavares. These, like the first group, show both the Massiliot silver standard and native names which are in part Keltic. The types, however, are copied from, or allied to, those of Compano-Roman coins of the third century B.C.¹ It is difficult to account for such types in Narbonese Gaul. Mommsen supposed trading relations to have been responsible for their introduction and it is certain that Campanian exports did pass through Latium and Etruria to north Italy and the west. Another suggestion, which compares the horse on Carthaginian issues in Sicily, thus pointing to a borrowing, direct or indirect, of the Ligurian type from the Carthaginian, is less convincing.

¹ This dating (c. 279 B.C.) is Mattingly's; Giesecke dates them 320-312 B.C. Formerly they were attributed to the time of the First Samnite War

II. RELIGION

It is impossible to say anything definite of Ligurian religion. There is a great gap between the palæolithic steatopygous figures, which may or may not have represented a goddess of fecundity, and the names of native deities first recorded in the Latin inscriptions of the district.¹ Some of these may well have survived from much earlier times and represent cults proper to the Ligurian population. We must be content with merely giving the names of the *deus Abinius*, of *Centondis*, and of *Segomo Cuntinus*, all worshipped at Cemenelum and the last identified with Mars.



FIG. 54.—Steatite Figurine from Grimaldi (palæolithic).

The epithets of *Mars Cemenelus*, of the *matronae Vedianthiae* are merely local, and possibly also the divine name *Vesunna* or *Vesunia*.² Yet *Vesunna* was a goddess of springs as well as a protecting goddess of her people, and her name recalls that of the goddess *Vesuna* revered by the Volscians, Marsians, and Umbrians in Italy. But the epithet *Marica* attached to Minerva at Dertona came from Italy, where it belonged to the country of the Aurunci on the west coast—possibly a remnant of the bronze-age stock. More interesting is *Mars Leucimalacus* ("Apple Ripener"?) to whom a dedication at Pedo was made on a festival called the *plostralia*. Was this a festival of muleteers or wagoners? Or is *plostro-* (older **plo3stro-*?) to be connected with the Rætic *ploum* and the *ploxenum* of Catullus—all three terms denoting something connected with wheels?

If so we may conjecture that the *plostralia* were a sort of "harvest-home" or "thanksgiving". Last of all, *Bormo* or *Bormanus* is quite definitely Ligurian³—a god of hot springs as his name, which is neither Italic (*Formiæ*) nor Keltic (both branches of which have

¹ *Præ-Italic Dialects*. i, pp. 370 ff.

² *C.I.L.* 13, 949, 956.

³ *Lucus Bormani* in Liguria, *Ant.*, 295, 6, *Itin.* just east of Ventimiglia; cf. *C.I.L.* 12, 2443; Orelli 1974, spelled *Borvo*, not *Bormo*, in *C.I.L.* 12, 2444 (cf. *Rev. arch.*, 30, 1880, pp. 19 ff.); *Bormanus* also *C.I.L.* 12, 494, 1567; *Rev. arch.*, 30, 1880, p. 134.

PLATE VII



INSCRIPTION OF DAVESCO

gor), unequivocally proves. The perverse etymology which would connect his name and the place-name *Bormiae* (compare also the modern Bormio) with English *barm* rather than with English *warm*, precisely in order to make it Keltic instead of Ligurian, has in the face of Latin *Formiæ* (Volscian *Hormiæ*), Greek *Θερμαί*, Phrygian *Γερμή* and *Γερμαί*, Dacian *Germisara*, little or nothing to commend it.

We may conclude this chapter by calling attention to some of the peculiarities of the Lepontic grave-stones. That from Davesco (north-east of Lugano) will serve as an example. It is a huge block of mica-schist, six feet long, twenty-two inches wide, and eight inches thick. On it are lightly incised two sets of two parallel lines, each set terminated by what is clearly meant, in a very stylized fashion, to portray a human head and neck. The actual inscriptions are engraved within the parallel lines. Whether these are in any sense very late echoes of megalithic monuments is doubtful, but it may be recalled that the Gola-seccan stone-circles have been compared with the megalithic structures of Switzerland; and also that in the valleys of the Vara and Magra above the gulf of Spezia menhirs are not uncommon. One of them bears a Gaulish inscription, probably added long after the stone itself was fashioned. But there can be little doubt that these sepulchral monuments are the work of the oldest of all "Ligurians".

Bibliographical Note.—The chief sources to which the reader may refer for fuller discussions of Ligurian origins and relationships have been indicated sufficiently in the footnotes; see further also *Prae-Italic Dialects*, II, pp. 157 f. (with Addendum, p. 631), for references to the older literature.

CHAPTER VI

TRANSPADANE GAUL

I. BOUNDARIES

IT is convenient to tell part of what is to be told concerning the Kelts in Italy in connexion with the eleventh Augustan *regio*, known as *Gallia Transpadana*, though it is by no means to be supposed that Keltic remains are found there exclusively in Italy, or that only Keltic remains are found there. The *regio Æmilia* also was known as *Gallia (Cispadana)*, and the *ager Gallicus* north of Picenum on the east coast, where the Gallic burials of Italy are best known, became part of *Umbria* in the Augustan organization of Italy; moreover, it is in the east of Italy, not in the western part of the Po valley that the oldest Keltic remains are discovered. The Lepontic inscriptions discussed in the last chapter are nearly all from sites within the Roman "Transpadana". Of north Italy it may be said, generally speaking, that Gallic elements became so completely intermingled in the third and following century B.C., with older ones, Ligurian, Venetic, Picene, and others, that to give a fair picture of them as a whole it is necessary to ignore the geographical boundaries of later date.

The *regio Transpadana* comprised the territory between the river Po on the south and the Alps on the west and north; on the east, where its frontiers marched with those of *Venetia*, the boundary is somewhat uncertain, but it was not west of the Adda and perhaps extended as far east as the river Oglio where it leaves the Lago d'Iseo (*Lacus Sebinnus*), then continuing directly south to the Po. Brixia and Cremona at any rate are in *Venetia*, but the archæological evidence so far discovered tends to show that Atestine influence stops west of Verona. The presence of Kelts,

at some time or other, over nearly the whole of this region is manifest from the evidence of proper names alone, especially local names, to mention no others. Thus *Mediolanum* (or *Mediolanium*), *Bardomagus*, *Eporedia*, *Rigomagus*, *Scingomagus* cannot be anything but Celtic.

2. THE TRADITION

The tradition preserved by Livy speaks of an invasion of Italy by Gauls as having taken place in the reign of the elder Tarquin at Rome c. 600 B.C. But their incursions, which helped to curtail greatly the already decadent Etruscan power, cannot have begun so early. Herodotus (484-425 ?), it has often been observed, makes no mention of them among the peoples known to him in north Italy. The omission might have been thought accidental, were there not positive evidence to show that Livy's dating is about two centuries too high. By c. 400 B.C. the Kelts were already pressing the Etruscan settlements of Cisalpine Gaul hard, driving them up into the Alpine valleys or southwards across the Po. Whatever the final causes of the collapse of the Etruscan control of a large part of the peninsula may have been, north of the Apennines they were few in numbers, and apart from the larger settlements, probably amounted to nothing more than administrators and staff officers, who, deserted by their kinsmen to the south could not withstand the onrush of the barbarians. Melpum, an Etruscan city near Milan (Melzo ?), is said to have fallen into their hands in 396 B.C. Ancient records depict them as tall, fair-haired, and blue-eyed invaders who entered Italy over the western passes of the Alps and occupied first the northern and western portions of the valley of the Po ; then crossed this river and advanced eastwards and southwards beneath the shadow of the Apennines in the direction of Felsina (Bologna) to make their way over the mountains and through Umbria into Etruria and the Tiber valley and, after the sack of Rome, to scatter over central Italy, some of them reaching the very south of the peninsula and even Sicily.

This series of events led to no complete or permanent occupation of the country, though the Romans did not settle accounts with the invaders, even south of Cisalpine Gaul, until

long after the defeat of the Senones and Boii in 283 and 282 B.C. ; for sixty years more the Gallic peril raised its head more than once and threatened raids even against Rome as late as 225 B.C. The objective which Rome then set herself, of completely subjecting Cisalpine Gaul was not finally accomplished until the days of Augustus. Nor was the Gallic peril the result of a single invasion. Large wandering bodies, mere detachments of the great Keltic people of central Europe entered Italy in successive migrations, the latest comers regularly establishing themselves on the remoter frontiers of their kinsmen who had preceded them. Thus the Senones are furthest south, on the Adriatic coast, where the Apennines approach the sea. Besides them are recorded the tribes of the Lingones near Ravenna, east of the Boii, whose capital was Bononia ; the Anamares (or Anamari) south of the Po in the district of Clastidium ; the Cenomani near Brixia and Verona, and the powerful Insubres of Mediolanum—forming in all a great wedge thrust between the Ligurians and the Veneti.

3. CRITICISM OF THE TRADITION

But the tradition is demonstrably wrong in several important matters. The causes of the Keltic migrations are not certainly known, but it is likely that unrest consequent upon a swarming population—the Kelts were notoriously prolific—and perhaps upon external pressure and a spell of bad weather, together with an innate love of adventure and wandering and the greed of quick gains in the shape of lands and spoil were responsible, rather than the deliberate dispatch of Bellovesus from Gaul by his uncle Ambigatus as told by Livy. It is, however, quite certain that the invasion took place over the central (or eastern) Alpine passes, not the western. The Ligurians were in the firm possession of Provence at the time of the Keltic migrations as is proved by the evidence of archæology, for Keltic remains there are of later date. Moreover, in Italy itself the oldest Keltic cemeteries in Cisalpine Gaul are to the east in the Romagna and gradually become later as we move westwards in the Po valley. Indeed one form of the tradition¹ actually speaks of the invading bodies of Kelts as having traded with the Veneti before they entered Italy. Hence

¹ Polyb., 2, 17.

it is argued that they crossed the Alps by the Brenner Pass ; for it is less probable that they came through Noricum by a route which must have been barred to them by the Veneti. Finally archæology again corrects the date of the invasion, given by Livy, which historians have criticized on other grounds. The "Keltic" civilization of central Europe, commonly known by the name La Tène from the important site on Lake Neuchâtel, did not reach north Italy until about 400 B.C., where its remains are superimposed on those of the Etruscans.

4. KELTIC CIVILIZATION IN ITALY

Three periods, or by some authorities, four periods of the La Tène culture are distinguished. The sub-division of Déchelette's La Tène I into two distinct periods is unimportant, however, for us, since the older phase is unrepresented in Italy. The later phase is marked by the characteristic early La Tène short



FIG. 55.—La Tène Sword from Montefortino.

thrusting sword and the fibula with the foot bent so far back as to touch or almost to touch the bow, by armlets, torques, and other objects of adornment. Marzabotto (near Bologna) and Montefortino (twenty-five miles south of Senigaglia) are perhaps the most important Italian sites. By a century later than these cemeteries, which are securely dated (c. 400 B.C.) by the associated objects in the second La Tène period, the Kelts have reached the western lake region where we have already seen them superimposed upon the Ligurians. To the mixed Kelto-Ligurian population we ascribed the Lepontic inscriptions, including some of the coin legends. We saw, too, that other coin legends were definitely Keltic, and indeed it was an important advance made by the Kelts about this time that they adopted coined money. Wheel-made pottery they had had from the beginning in Italy.

The Keltic burial rite was invariably inhumation in the first La Tène period and it is still the prevailing rite in the second period. Some cremation burials occur exceptionally in the

southern part of the eastern Alpine region. But by the third La Tène period, beginning about 100 B.C., the Kelts had adopted quite commonly the rite of cremation from the cremating peoples among whom they found themselves in north Italy. There is nowhere any danger of confusion of Keltic burials with Ligurian burials of earlier date, though the rite is the same. La Tène material is unmistakable. But it is easy to see that the amalgamation of the two peoples, the one long established, the other late invaders, was hastened by the identity of rite, and Déchelette has no hesitation in ascribing the important cemeteries at Ornavasso to such a mixed people.¹ Ornavasso lies in one of the valleys south of Domodossola, between the lakes Maggiore and Orta. There are two distinct cemeteries there, an earlier one (San Bernardo) of the second La Tène period, where all the graves are inhumation graves; and a later one (In Persona, chiefly third La Tène), where several cremation burials were found. The relative dates of these two cemeteries are in part determined by the Roman coins found on the two sites, those from San Bernardo being not later than 74 B.C., while at In Persona they run on into the first century of our era. Again, characteristically earlier finds, such as La Tène swords and black-varnished bowls come only from San Bernardo, characteristically later ones, such as "Arretine" ware and glass ware only from In Persona. Finally the "Lepontic" inscriptions of Ornavasso fall into two classes distinguished by the employment of the epichoric or of the Latin alphabet respectively. The former group come exclusively from San Bernardo. Among them is the famous *latumarui*-vase, the inscription of which was given above (p. 136).

It is of the type known as *vaso a trottole* (in German "Kreisel-vase"), that is a "peg-top" vase, the shape of a wide shallow basin but covered in at the top, and with a short very narrow neck right in the centre. These vases are found commonly in the district of the lower Ticino (as at Giubiasco), around Pavia, Lomello, Lake Como, and in the district of Brescia. They are often decorated with concentric yellow bands running round the top of the vase of polished red ware. At Ornavasso they come only from San Bernardo, and in general the In Persona graves, especially the

¹ *Manuel*, 2, 3, pp. 1093 ff. Cf. *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, nos. 304-320 for the inscriptions.

cremation graves, are the poorer in equipment. It has been suggested¹ that the *vasi a trottola* must have been important in the cult of the dead practised by these western Kelts or Kelto-Ligurians, chiefly on the ground that some of the inscriptions on them are proper names in the dative case. But others are nominative, not dative, and there is, as a matter of fact, nothing in the inscriptions themselves to show that the vases were not former possessions of the living, interred with them on death and burial. Less convincing still is the assertion that they contained some costly unknown substance connected with the funerary rites; for one of the longest of them all expressly mentions wine.

The Gallic graves at Soldo (in the Brianza) are also cremation graves, closely related in type and date to those of In Persona and to the latest of San Bernardo at Ornavasso. It is instructive, therefore, to observe that the solitary inscription discovered there,² a *graffito* on a vase (*coppa*) of red ware with a raised foot, is an Italic rather than Keltic name

utilios

showing a northern pronunciation only in the substitution of *i* for *e* in the second syllable. Other

objects from the same graves include the characteristic knives and "double-spiral" fibulæ. Broadly stated, it may be said that the cremation burials of the Gauls appear in the western half of the Po valley, and around the western lakes, the inhumation burials chiefly in the east. Thus at Pavia there are a few cases of inhumation, at Remedello Sotto (near Brescia) two (out of sixteen in all), side by side with absolutely contemporary cremation burials; but in the territory of the Veneti, for example at

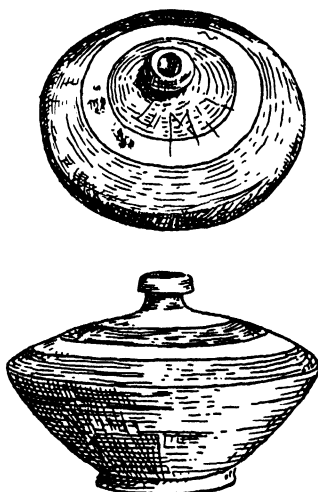


FIG. 56.—"Peg-top" Vases (Ornavasso).

¹ By von Duhn, in Ebert's *Reallexikon*, 6, p. 294.

² *Præ-Italic Dialects*, ii, no. 282.

Povegliano Veronese, half-way between the Mincio and the Adige, only inhumation burials, accompanied, nevertheless, with types of spear, sword, knives, fibulæ, and pottery—including even the *vaso a trottola*, quite comparable with those of the older Ornavasso graves.

The decorative styles of Keltic products in Italy belong to the later and decadent La Tène art. It is now well understood that there were two sources of Keltic art, which reached its zenith very early in the first La Tène period, namely, a central European one, whence come motives of Hallstatt derivation, and a Mediterranean one that goes back to contemporary Greek art. Perhaps the most striking characteristic is the constantly increasing tendency to fill the whole decorative field with curvilinear patterns.¹ But it was best developed and is best illustrated outside Italy, where the Kelts were rapidly absorbed by the peoples among whom they settled. For the same reason there is little to be said concerning their way of life, their religious beliefs, and their national character that applies specifically to the Italian Kelts. Doubtless they had druids with them there, that is an organized and learned priesthood, and it is certain that they had kings, for names are known of many of them besides the famous Brennus who led the armies that sacked Rome; and it would appear, as might be expected, that the king had his bodyguard of picked men to assist him in establishing the new kingdom to which the migration was directed. But in Italy the Kelts must soon have adopted at least a modified form of city-life, and in course of time gave up trews (*bracæ*) and the striped parti-coloured² tunic (*sagum*) of their national dress for the Roman toga. It is said that frequently they fought all but naked, armed only with a long unwieldy and badly tempered sword, that bent and broke easily, and shield. Before they were subjected to Mediterranean influences in Italy they were, in some ways, despite the fairly high level of civilization reached in other respects, all but savages: head-hunting, human sacrifice, the slaughter of wives and dependents at the funerals of chieftains are practices ascribed to them by ancient testimony. Their courage was great, while it lasted, but it was usually short-

¹ See *Laténestil* (van Scheltema) in Ebert's *Reallexikon*.

² The descriptions given by Diodorus and Servius (see *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, pp. 182, 189, 200) inevitably remind us of the tartan plaid.

lived. In Italy, their half-civilized, half-savage bands were no match, in the long run, for the disciplined forces of Rome and within two centuries of their appearance at the gates of Rome, from marauding freebooters they had become more or less peaceful agriculturists.

5. THE GRADUAL DISAPPEARANCE OF THE KELTS IN ITALY

The assertion of Polybius ¹ that in his day (c. 150 B.C.) the Kelts south of the Alps already were largely merged into the older population or extinct, is probably not far from the truth. It is matched by similar statements of Polybius himself and other writers ² to the effect that the Kelts and their neighbours, Venetic, Ligurian, Rætic, and Illyrian, had the same customs and wore the same kind of clothing; and it is confirmed both by archæological observation and by linguistic study. So far as the collected evidence of later date yet goes, and it is not considerable in bulk, there is no very satisfactory distinction established between burials that can be definitely ascribed to pure Keltic tribes and the later Ligurian and later Venetic burials. It is difficult, if not in part impossible, to draw a secure line between them. No wonder that the ancients spoke of Kelto-Ligurians and Keltillyrians, just as they did of Keltiberians and Kelto-Scythians. The linguistic records of the Keltic invaders of Italy, apart from proper names and words borrowed into Latin are extremely scanty. The Lepontic inscriptions cannot be reckoned pure Keltic, and traces of Keltic influence in the modern north Italian dialects are disappointingly few and uncertain. There are, in fact, not more than three inscriptions that can quite certainly be called Keltic. Something more than ignorance of the art of writing must lie behind the smallness of this number. Their fewness, taken together with their lateness in date and their extremely scattered distribution, must mean that very quickly after the Kelts had become rooted to the soil at all, they rapidly lost their own distinguishing features and became assimilated to their neighbours.

¹ 2, 35, 4.

² 17, 5; cf. Strabo, 2, 5, 28, 128 C.; Arrian, *Tact*, 44.

6. THEIR ORIGIN AND THEIR SPEECH

Hitherto we have spoken sometimes of Gauls and Gallic invasions in Italy, following the ancient tradition. But so far as this implies that Gaul was their country of origin, it implies more than we know. It is far more likely that the invaders came from the upper Rhine. Applied to their language it is definitely erroneous to use the term Gallic or Gaulish, which ought to mean "belonging to Gaul," unless it is specified that Cisalpine Gaul is meant. But there is not enough evidence of early date, either from Italy or from Gaul, to enable us to discriminate clearly between the varieties of Keltic speech current there before and during Roman times. They all belonged with one notable exception (the dialect of the "calendar of Coligny" which has been called Sequanian), to what is loosely described as "Continental Keltic," that is *p*-Keltic, with *p* from Indo-European *q*%.¹ Keltic as a whole, like all the Indo-European languages, was differentiated in an area, wherever it may have, that was neither in Gaul nor in Italy—perhaps the upper Danube region is the centre from which they were all diffused. It is much wiser therefore to speak of the remains of that non-Italic *p*-dialect which we find in north Italy and which is neither Lepontic nor Italic (Umbrian), as Keltic rather than as Gallic. In passing we may note that the similarities between it and the Italic *p*-dialects, Keltic and Italic as a whole having much in common, may have hastened the assimilation of the two peoples in Italy. It is noteworthy that among the aliens who are warned off the Iguvine sacrifices Kelts are not mentioned.

However that may be, let us begin by observing that the sole Keltic inscription of Cisalpine Gaul is hardly older than the middle of the second century B.C. This is evident not only on epigraphical grounds but also from the partial Latinization that the inscription shows. It was found not far from Novara² and consists of little more than proper names. But side by side with the verb *karnitus* "fecerunt" (the singular *karnitu* is found at Todi in Umbria, and also in Gaul), which must be Keltic,

¹ The distinction between *p* and *q* (or *c*) dialects, it should be observed, does not hold for the voiced consonants, aspirated or not; *g* is regular for *q*^h and *b* for *q*^h in both groups of Keltic dialects.

² *Pras-Italic Dialects*, ii, no. 337.

uncertain as some of the details of its precise formation are, there appears the Latin *kuitus lekatos*, that is "Quintus legatus," and it is an attractive conjecture to interpret the last line of the text, if correctly read *takos: toutio(s?)*, as "*ταγός* publicus"—assuming that this Thessalian military title had been borrowed into Keltic in the course of the long wanderings of the Keltic tribes. Perhaps the word that followed this phrase, now lost owing to the mutilation of the stone, meant "probavit" or the like, corresponding to the Oscan *prufatted*. This same inscription also has the Latin fashion of using the genitive singular of the father's name (*esane koti*) instead of the older fashion of the patronymic adjective which survives in the Todi inscription. But the Todi inscription¹ is bilingual, Latin and Keltic, the Keltic version standing second on both sides of the stone, which bear almost identical texts, and being written, left to right, in an alphabet very closely related to the Lepontic. The dialect, however, is proved to be Keltic by the verb (*karnitu*) and by the final *-n* of the accusative singular *lokan* "grave". The third Keltic inscription in Italy, judged to be about a century older from the forms of the letters, was found at Zignago (near Spezia) in the valley of the Vara, a tributary of the Magra, that is in Ligurian territory. It is written in the pure Etruscan alphabet along one side of a sandstone menhir with a rudely sculptured head at the top. The stone itself is usually ascribed to a much more remote period; we must suppose that some Keltic chieftain, finding it ready to hand, cut or rather caused to be cut his name upon it—it is one of the only two inscribed stones out of a large number of these "Ligurian" stelæ. The dialect of the other is not yet identified, but at any rate it appears not to be Etruscan despite its script.

7. INFLUENCE UPON LATIN

But a very large number of words from ancient Keltic dialects are recorded for us in the works of Greek and Latin writers. The chief difficulty about these that it is not as a rule clear from precisely what Keltic speaking district and at what date they were taken. Many of them, and these are the most important for us, appear not merely in the grammarians and glossographers, but

¹ *Præ-Italic Dialects*, ii, no. 339.

were actually borrowed and incorporated into the Latin language. Even in default of explicit testimony we may generally be confident that a Keltic word used by Latin authors earlier than the conquest of Gallia Narbonensis, for example by Ennius or Lucilius, or in Greek say by Polybius, was learnt from the Kelts of Cisalpine Gaul or of Italy, rather than from other Keltic speaking tribes. The present writer has collected¹ such words as appear, on the available evidence, to have been taken into Latin, or into some Italic dialect, from that source. It should be observed, however, that some of the foreign words borrowed by Latin from north Italy are probably not Keltic; a few are Venetic, and a few Germanic. These have to be distinguished from the Keltic. The remarkably large number of Keltic words in Latin that are concerned with horsemanship, riding and driving, has frequently been noted. The chariots in which the Kelts rode into battle and the waggons in which they transported their families, must have produced a great impression on the Roman mind; the like had not been seen before, and the speaker of Latin had no names for them other than those used by the Kelts themselves; *carpentum* "a two-wheeled waggon," *petorritum* "a four-wheeled waggon or carriage," *raeda* "a travelling coach," *cisium* "a two-wheeled carriage," *carrus* "a waggon," *eporediae* "horse breakers or tamers," are conspicuous examples. But *benna*, assigned to Keltic by Festus, was perhaps rather Illyrian (Venetic?), for we find it also in Messapic; that it actually belonged to north Italy is proved by its survival there to this day. So also *mannus* "a pony" seems to be Illyrian rather than Keltic. Words of other noteworthy groups are those pertaining to weapons (e.g. *gaesum*, *cateia*, *tantanus*, *sparus*, *lancea*), to clothing (*bracae*, *sagum*, *reno*, see p. 152 above), and to food (*omasum* "tripe," *tuccetum* "salted meat"); and, not least, we have the word that described the retainer attached, it would seem inalienably, to his chieftain, *ambactus*, and the armed band that accompanied him on the field, *caterua*. The golden torque was called *μανιάκης* (or *manicae*,² perhaps also "bracelet"). But it is very doubtful whether some of the names of plants and trees taken by Latin from north Italy

¹ *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, pp. 180 ff.

² *Sil. Ital.*, 4, 155. Is not "cuff" the meaning of this word in Latin where it is usually translated "sleeve"?

were Keltic, words that is such as *laburnum*, *larix*, *opulus*, *rumpus* and *rumpotinus*, *samera*, *baccar*, *batis*. On the other hand, it is not inconceivable that *uerpa*, *salaputium*, and *basium*, which were introduced into Latin by Catullus, were not only Cisalpine but also Keltic words.

8. THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF TRANSPADANE GAUL

The story of the numerous encounters of Roman armies with the Gauls in Italy, either alone or as allies of the enemies of Rome, is part of the history of Rome and need not be repeated here. In the fullness of time Cisalpine Gaul was obliged to submit to the Roman leadership, which in fact was recognized, if not always respected, as early as 179 B.C., when the Carnic tribes¹ did not hesitate to obey the peremptory bidding to withdraw that was the answer of the Senate to their demands for lands. The gradual extension of Roman roads and the planting of colonies mark very clearly the growing power of Rome—the *via Æmilia* was carried from Ariminum to Placentia in 187 B.C., the *via Postumia* from Genua to Aquileia through Placentia, Cremona, and Verona in 148 B.C.; and to the two colonies of Placentia and Cremona founded in 218 B.C., just at the beginning of the Second Punic War, and reinforced in 190, were added those of Bononia (189), Mutina and Parma (183), and Aquileia (180). Within this network the Transpadana was as securely held as any part of Cisalpine Gaul. Itself it possessed a large number of townships such as Comum, Bergomum, Mediolanum, Eporedia, Victumulæ, some of them certainly occupied by Kelts, which began in north Italy the flourishing city-life that is still one of its most charming characteristics. Near Milan indeed there had been an Etruscan city before the coming of the Gauls. The name of the Taurini, originally Ligurian, then Kelticized, still survives in Turin, though their city Augusta Taurinorum, the successor of *Taurasia*, if not founded was like Aosta itself (Augusta Prætoria) at least re-organized by Augustus. The clearing of the country for pasture, agriculture, and orchards must have begun in earnest in the years following the Gallic invasions, no matter how much interrupted by the Hannibalic War and later contests, and not completed even

¹ Livy, 40, 53, 5-6.

by Christian times. Paulus Diaconus (fl. A.D. 760) speaks of the dense forest called "Urbs¹ silua," and medieval names such as *Roboretum*, as well as their modern representatives such as *Carpenedolo*, clearly testify to wooded regions. If in this chapter we mention the Cimbri and Teutones, defeated by Marius in 101 B.C. near Vercelli, it is in order to include the last of the invasions by the peoples of the north earlier than the extension of Italy to its natural boundaries; for they were not Kelts but Germans.

9. RELIGION

From Latin sources, chiefly inscriptions, something may be gleaned concerning native cults in the Transpadana. It is reasonable to suppose that the Kelts of Italy brought their own beliefs and practices with them, but it is dangerous to argue from the analogy of Keltic religion in western Europe at a later epoch. Possibly a sacred *omphalos* was associated with the "centre of the plain" *Mediolanum*. We have definite information, however, that there was a festival of *Epona*, a muleteer's goddess according to the ancient scholiasts on Juvenal,² held on December 18 each year by the Kelts living between Verona and Mantua.³ There is nothing as yet to show that *Leucetius*, identified with Jupiter among the Italic tribes, with Mars among the Keltic, was worshipped in north Italy, but a comparable divine name, clearly cognate with Latin *lux*, appears in the *Louccianus* of the Ræti or Veneti. On the summit of the Great St. Bernard Pass the mountain tribes revered a deity, also afterwards identified with Jupiter, whose name they spelled *Pæninus*, *Puëninus*, and *Peëninus*. These variants have led to the suggestion that his proper name was *Penninus*, the god of the mountain top (compare Welsh *penn*), corrupted in our comparatively late records in such a way as to agree with the local names *Alpes Pæninæ* and *vallis Pænina*, in which there is a hint, scholastic or not, of the march of the Carthaginians (*Pæni*) under Hannibal.

But the most interesting cult of Cisalpine Gaul is that of the *matronæ*, the "Great Mothers" of the Kelts, worshipped also in

¹ *urbs* is here probably a Latinized form of some non-Latin name.

² 8, 157.

³ See *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, p. 184.

other Keltic countries, especially in Lower Germany, and, under the name of *matres* or *matræ* in southern France, in Spain, in Upper Germany, and in Britain. They are often localized by the addition of some local epithet, for example, the *matronæ Deruonnæ* (near Milan), the *sanctæ matronæ Vcellasicae Concananæ* (near Lake Maggiore, the first epithet possibly referring to the frontier town *Ocelum*), or of some other local designation, such as the *matronæ Bræcorium Gallianatium* (at Galliano). Sometimes honoured alone, with or without a qualifying epithet (*indulgentes* at Novara), they are often joined with other deities, male or female, as *Iuppiter*, *Mercurius*, *Diana*, and the puzzling *Vicanæ* and *Adganai* (?). The last name, if correctly read, is somehow connected with Jupiter, who in the Transpadana is called *Agganaicus*¹ and *Adceneicus*. Probably this came about because there was an obvious likeness between the great Keltic goddesses of motherhood, who seem to have passed through an animistic phase like the Italic Lymphæ and Faunī (observe the same generalizing plural), and the great Italic mother-goddess Juno. Hence we find the plural *Iunones* in Cisalpine Gaul,² a usage that never occurs in any pure Latin document free from all foreign influence, standing for the Keltic *matronæ*, as in an inscription from near Como which speaks of the *matronæ Iunones*, or in other inscriptions from the same general region which speak of the *Iunones* simply. Hence, too, both the *matronæ* are associated with a *genius loci* (*matronæ et genius Ausuciatium*)³ and *Iuno* is thought of as a sort of female *genius loci* (as at Bergamo, *Iuno pagi Fortunensis*),⁴ and even as the *genius* of a woman. This idea, fortified by Stoic philosophy,⁵ had spread to Rome and elsewhere in Italy by the end of the Republic. Tibullus,⁶ the first Latin writer to make use of it (whereas the *genius* of a man is mentioned

¹ Hence restore in C.I.L. 5, 5671, *Adganai[cus]*? Compare also the personal cognomen *Adgennonius*?

² That *Iunones* is a Keltic usage, with no bearing whatsoever on the fantastic theory that "*iuno*" was a female *genius*, has also been observed by Meister, K, *Eigenamen*, Leipzig, 1916, p. 122 (cf. Löfstedt, E., *Syntactica*, 1, Lund, 1928, p. 63, n. 3).

³ C.I.L. 5, 5227, from Ossuccio.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 5112.

⁵ *memineris maiores nostros, qui crediderunt hoc, Stocos fuisse, singulis enim et Genium* (that is to men) *et Iunonem* (that is to women) *dederunt*, Seneca, *Epist.* 110, 1. Cf. Arnold, E. V., *Roman Stoicism*, Cambridge, 1911, p. 232.

⁶ E.g. 3, 12, 1.

as early as Plautus)¹ picked it up during his residence in Gaul; and at first applied to married women or to mothers,² it came to be used also of unmarried women and is quite common in inscriptions of imperial date. Latin and Italic evidence³ is altogether against the false but now prevalent idea that *Iuno*, a female counterpart of *Iuppiter*, as *Διώνη* of *Ζεύς*, sprang from a shadowy female *genius*, such as the male *genius* always remained quite devoid of any further development even in the fancy of students of ancient religion. It cannot be an accident that joint dedications to the *genius* of a man and to the *iuno* of a woman, usually husband and wife, and also single dedications to the *iuno* of a woman, are commoner in Cisalpine Gaul, or Gaul proper, than anywhere else in the Roman empire. Even outside those provinces they are not common except in regions which at some time or other had been occupied by Kelts.

Bibliographical Note.—On Transpadane Gaul and especially on the relations of the Gauls of Italy with other Keltic tribes, see—

Déchelette, J., *Manuel d'Archéologie préhistorique, celtique, et gallo-romaine*, vol. II, Paris, 1910-14 (reprinted in part, 1924).

von Duhn, F., in Ebert's *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, vol. VI, Berlin, 1925, s.v. *Kelten* (A. 2, Italien, pp. 286 ff.); a fuller account is to be expected in the further but posthumous (second) volume announced as in preparation to continue von Duhn's *Italische Graberkunde*, vol. I (Heidelberg, 1924).

¹ E.g. *Capt.*, 977, and possibly *Stich.*, 622, *Ter.*, *Andria*, 289. Wissowa (*R. K.*, ed. 2, p. 182, n. 2), copied by Thulin (in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Iuno*) is therefore wrong.

² Tibullus, 3, 19, 15, where vv. 1 ff. (*nulla tuum nobis subducat femina lectum | hoc primum iuncta est foedere nostra uenus*) suggest a marital relationship at least in fact if not in law. But Petronius, *Sat.*, 25 (*unonem meam iratam habeam, si unquam me meminim uirginem fuisse*) is decisive.

³ Note in particular the Marrucinian goddess *Ioua* (see *Ital. Dial.*, no. 243), who, like the Latin *Iuno* has the epithet *regina* (*regen-*, *ibid.*); cf. p. 387 below. And, against current theory, note that in Tibullus (3, 6, 47), who is as fond as no other Latin writer of the expression *sua Iuno*, we find, in the very same line, *sua Venus*. It could have been foretold that conjecture (see *The. Ling. Lat.*, 6, 1828, 9) would make *Venus* (as well as *Iuno*) the feminine, in Latin, of *genius*! Some protest against Wissowa's flimsy theory of *Iuno*, supported only by a bad etymology, is long overdue. Bailey (*Phases in the Religion of Ancient Rome*, 1932, p. 70) wisely remarks that the reason why *Iuno* is not more conspicuous in early Rome is the very simple one that she was Latian and Italic rather than pure Roman.

- Hubert, H., *Les Celtes et l'expansion celtique jusqu'à l'époque de la Tène*, Paris, 1932, and *Les Celtes depuis l'époque de La Tène et la civilisation celtique*, Paris, 1932 (with full bibliography).
- de Navarro, J. M., in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. vii (1928), Chapter 2.
- Whatmough, J., in *Prae-Italic Dialects*, ii, pp. 166 ff., with the references on pp. 169 f., to which add, for religion,
- Bertrand, A., *La religion des Gaulois*, Paris, 1897.
- Dottin, G., *La religion des Celtes*, Paris, 1904.
- MacCulloch, J. A., in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. iii (Edinburgh, 1911), s.v. *Celts*.

CHAPTER VII

VENETIA AND THE RÆTI

I. BOUNDARIES

MUCH more interesting than the harlequin patchwork of Transpadane Gaul are the regions further east. Histria and Venetia may well be taken together, not only for our present purpose, but also as constituting, together with the territory of the Cenomani (who lived in the stretch of territory between the Adige and the Adda) the tenth Augustan *regio* of Italy—previously considered (except Histria) as part of Cisalpine Gaul. The peninsula of Histria, and therefore also the tenth *regio* was bounded on the east by the river Arsia (now the Arsa), which to Pliny was accordingly the limit of “Italia,” a little west of the modern frontier of Italy at Fiume; the dividing-line between it and Venetia was the river Formio, so that Tergeste (modern Trieste), which seems to be an Illyrian name¹ meaning “market,” belonged not to the Histri, but to the Carni in Venetia. We saw above (p. 146) that the western boundary is somewhat indefinite; here we adhere to the eastern boundary then accepted for the Transpadana. On the north-west the frontier ran along the range of hills separating the valleys of the Adda and the Oglio and then up to the summit of the Rætic Alps and so, following the ridge of the Venetic, Carnic, and Julian Alps to the Karst plateau back to the head-waters of the Arsa. But this includes also the southern tribes of the Ræti, whom we shall discuss here. For the boundaries of the Ræti were by no means identical with those of the two later Roman provinces called Rætia (that is Rætia proper to the south, and Vindelicia to the north, the latter all but entirely Celtic and outside our field), any more than the boundaries of the Veneti were

¹ Cf. Alb. *terge* “market”.

identical with those of the *regio Venetia*. On the south the boundary of Venetia was the river Po itself, which here was broad enough to form for long an effective barrier to invaders.

2. HISTRIA

Let us begin with Histria. Archæological exploration has not yet gone far and the recently published material is available only in scattered articles.¹ The chief importance of the region for us is that it was linked by trading relations with various parts of Italy in the early iron age, as is clearly indicated by analogies between Histrian and Comacine objects, or between Histrian and Picene (in particular helmets and spiral ornamentation on the Picene stelæ), between Histrian fibulæ and a rare specimen found at Este, and last of all between Histrian and Apulian pottery. At a comparatively late date Apulian wares of Greek type were actually imported to Nesazio and probably most of the other commercial contacts (between Histria and Picenum, and again between Histria and the western lake region) are to be explained as the results of a sea-borne trade crossing the head of the Adriatic, and then continued by land, though there was doubtless also some trade by land-routes around the northern end of the Adriatic sea. Nevertheless, it is important to observe that at a period corresponding to the Third Atestine period (say the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.), represented by the cemetery of Santa Lucia, there is a marked break between the two regions, the Atestine and the Histrian, at the river Isonzo, even though it is certain that, centuries before, the early iron-age peoples of Italy, Atestines included, had poured down into Italy through Histria and the eastern Alps.

The Histrians, therefore, despite certain local variations in their products, especially fibulæ, and despite the clear indications that apart from the stimulus of trade they were a rather backward people, belonged to the same cremating peoples as those who invaded Italy at the end of the bronze age. Atestine contacts are perhaps less marked than those with the later Villanovans at

¹ There is a bibliography covering the years 1918 to 1932 by de Grassi in *Aevum*, 7, 1933, pp. 279 ff.; an important article dealing (*inter alia*) with the connexions of the Veneti and Histri is that of Dunăreanu-Vulpe, *Eph. Dacorom.*, 3, 1925, pp. 129 ff.

Bologna, but the similarities between their red and black-banded pottery that have been observed point to some trade with Este, and until the swamping of the Alpine regions by the Kelts they shared with the other Alpine tribes a widespread art of simple and barbaric type.

On the linguistic side there is nothing to be added to what was said above (p. 103), that they probably spoke, as their geographical location would lead us to expect, an Illyrian dialect, and we have the explicit testimony of Livy and Strabo¹ to the effect that they were of the same stock as the piratical Illyrians and Liburnians. The two Venetic inscriptions from Santa Lucia, if not imported, would prove that Venetic was spoken in Histria, just as it seems to have been spoken on the Gurina plateau.

Whatever cults native to them may have existed, they seem to have left no trace; in the divine names recorded for us there is little that is not either Greek or Latin. For *Veica* is described as Norican, and the epithet of *Minerva Flanatica* (at Parenzo) is really a local one. *Seixomnia Leucitica* (at Rovigno) seems to be Keltic rather than Illyrian, and her epithet, if not local, recalls the Keltic *Leucetius* (see p. 158 above). Possibly *Melesocus* (Pola), who is described as "August," is native, for his name appears to be unknown elsewhere. *Boria*, a dedication to whom is recorded from Pola, is probably nothing more than the dreaded *bora* of Histria, the devouring wind called "Boreas" by the Greeks.

3. THE RÆTI AND THEIR REMAINS

The southern Ræti, who lived within the boundaries of Augustan Venetia, occupied the valleys of the Isarcus (Eisack), of the upper Athesis ("alto Adige") and of their tributaries (excluding the Pustertal which strikes far to the east), as far south as Verona, and westwards the valley of the Adda as far as the point at which it enters Lake Como. Their kinsmen on the north side of the Brenner Pass extended on the north-west to the upper Rhine as far as Lake Constance, and so occupied the valley of the Inn, perhaps as far as Kufstein and the gathering grounds and upper courses of the Iller, Lech, and Isar

¹ Livy, 10, 2, 4, Strabo, 7, 5, 3, p. 314 C.

to the north and north-east. But those of their material remains¹ with which we are concerned in this book, scanty as they are, come with hardly an exception from the southern slopes of the Alps. Of the attempts that have been made to identify a native "Illyrian" art in these remains, it can only be said that so far they have not been entirely successful, but it is perfectly clear that any explanation of them as Venetic, still more as Etruscan, is quite wrong. In the fragments of bronze situlæ, with their ornament consisting of animals and birds arranged in bands, it is impossible not to see travestied or burlesque copies of types that no doubt go back ultimately to the Certosa situla or a similar prototype. And there can be no question that exports from Este of the Atestine third period reached the valley of the Adige and its tributaries above Trent. A probable date, therefore, for these objects, found at Moritzing, Matri (north of the Brenner), and Meclo is c. 450 to 300 B.C. The discoveries at Vadena (Germ. Pfatten) have, indeed, a wider range in time, showing materials comparable with the Villanovan, from the First Benacci until they break off at the Gallic period, and, as Orsi saw long ago, are to be considered as fundamentally related with those on Italian soil, succeeded by a light superimposed layer of quasi-Etruscan remains, so that the settlement would seem to have been abandoned in the Keltic age. There is a certain connexion, as we saw above (p. 137), with Comacine remains, and even a late lingering of *terramara* types. But the evidence is now difficult to interpret. What has been described as a well-preserved pile-structure, of much later date, has recently been discovered at the not distant Collalbo (Klobenstein), and it would appear that there was a late survival of kindred of the *terramaricoli* and of their type of dwelling (though not a *terramara*) in these remote Alpine settlements. Most of the other objects so far recorded from San Zeno, Dercolo, and the Val di Cembra, Seben and elsewhere are mere scattered and sporadic finds. At Magrè the remains of the *favissæ* of a temple, corresponding in date to the Veneto-La Tène stratum at Este (Fourth Atestine period) is of special interest for the inscribed

¹ In addition to the articles mentioned in *Præ-Italic Dialects*, ii, p. 4 (with Addenda, p. 627), see *Archivio per l'Alto Adige*, 23, 1928, pp. 73, 109 ff.; *Studi Etruschi* 7, 1933, pp. 393 ff., with the older notices, *Archivio per l'Alto Adige*, 14, 1919, pp. 265 ff., 21, 1926, pp. 189 ff., 469 ff.

fragments of stag's horn which came to light there (cf. p. 169), and we may mention also the moulded bronze figurines of dogs from San Zeno, and part of a bronze bit from Dercolo as indicating the same sort of life of hunting and horsemanship that the Magrè shrine seems to suggest.

But so far as the Trentino and Alto Adige are concerned it may be stated definitely that they have produced no evidence whatsoever for counting the Ræti who lived there as true Etruscans. North of Trent Etruscan "finds" are late in date, later than those of Bologna which are themselves later than those of Etruria proper, and also exceedingly rare—mere "strays" or isolated imported objects. The evidence of proper names, especially place-names, in the district corroborates the archaeological evidence in this negative conclusion. Positively it indicates, if anything, Illyrian connexions. The name of the Ræti themselves (a simple derivative from *Raius* attested in the same district) seems to stand for an older **Grai-* as in *Alpes Graiæ* (with a loss of *g-* before *-r-* that can be paralleled in Messapic), and this is a well-known Illyrian name; *Tridentum*, *Verona*, *Humiste*, *Ateste* (like *Tergeste*), *Venostes*, and possibly the *-ua* ending in *Addua*, *Berna*, *Bredua*, *Ver-na-ses*, if not in *Mantua*, are also counted Illyrian with some reason. In short there is nothing Etruscan in the toponymy of the Ræti and of their immediate neighbours; it points rather to an Illyrian population as having lived in pre-Roman times between the Isarco and the Inn.

Ancient testimony, so far as it goes, which is not far, is not contradictory. The Rætic Trumpilini and Camunni were called Illyrian by Pliny,¹ the equally Rætic Genauni and Breuni were also called Illyrian by Strabo,² though Horace,³ who probably was neither well-informed nor interested in precise accuracy, regarded them as belonging with the Keltic Vindelici who lived much further north. The truth seems to be that they were Kelto-Illyrians, just as the Lepontii were Kelto-Ligurians, that is an older people, here Illyrian, who had been over-run by Kelts. The remains of the Rætic dialect itself, chiefly proper names, points clearly to the same conclusion, and the celebrated statement of Livy⁴ does not in fact say that the speech of the Ræti was Etruscan, but only

¹ 3, 134² 4, 206 C.³ *Od.*, 4, 14.⁴ 5, 33, 11.

that it had an Etruscan flavour, and that a faint one. Livy's assertion that the Ræti were of Etruscan race is, therefore, worthless and may be discarded. That there are some Etruscan traits in the dialect, especially towards the west, we shall see presently; but the syncope which is characteristic of Etruscan inscriptions is conspicuously absent. Finally, the independent position of Ladin among the modern Romance dialects suggests very strongly, if it does not prove, that the linguistic substratum was something different from the Etruscan of Tuscany. Granted that Ladin survives only in a few isolated spots, making of it mere linguistic enclaves (no less than the German of the Sette Comuni and Tredici Comuni, or the French of the Val d'Aosta), as contrasted with the more extensive Friulian, and the Romansch of the Grisons in Switzerland, or the now extinct dialect of Veglia (which also betrayed a pre-Roman substratum), yet it must be remembered that modern Venetian is so far removed from standard Italian as almost to form a distinct language, just as modern Ligurian is widely different from the neighbouring Tuscan and more closely connected with Lombard Italian.

It is now clear that Rætic was Indo-European and probable that within Indo-European it belonged to the western group of dialects. The mountain-name *Ocra* (on the boundaries of the Ræti and the Norici) is good evidence of this. An ancient name of the Brenner Pass, Ἀκτιπέννινον ὄρος,¹ is no doubt properly Celtic, or at least, since it recurs in Italy, *p*-Italic (Osco-Umbrian), though there is nothing to show that Rætic was a labializing dialect. A few examples will serve to illustrate its general features. Thus a grave-stone from Collalbo reads

laseke maieχe

evidently "Lassicus Maiecus (?)," as it might have been in Latin, though what the "case"-ending *-ke* or *-χe* was, if not nominative, is unknown. The stems of the names, however, are Lepontic, Venetic, or Illyrian, not Etruscan. On the Caslir situla² we have apparently divine names, *velχanu*, that is the Italic (not Etruscan) "Volcanus" and *φελνα νινυταλίνα*, probably, I think, the Venetic "Belenus" (afterwards identified with Apollo) with an epithet that may be interpreted "Viniferus"—the southern Rætic

¹ Cf. *Panina*, p. 158 above.

² *Prae-Italic Dialects*, II, no. 215.

valleys have been famous for their wine since pre-Roman days—though *Belenus* (like *Bedaius* and the *Alounæ*) seems to have been more Norican than strictly Rætic or Venetic. Especially inter-

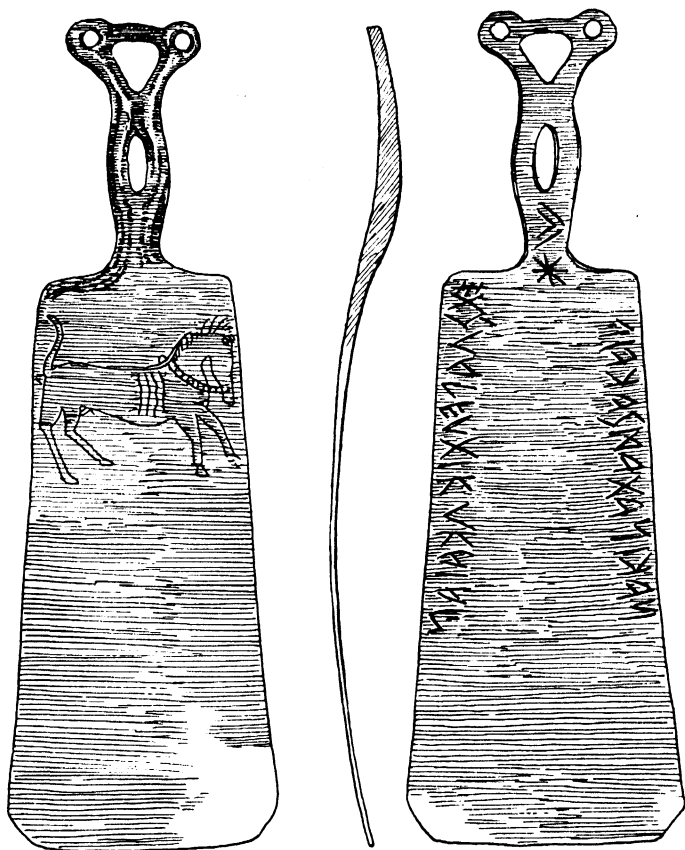


FIG. 57.—Inscribed Paletta from Padua.

esting is an inscription on a "paletta," or rather a small bronze fire-shovel of ultimately Etruscan type—at least in origin—apparently used for sacrificial purposes, tending the sacred fire or removing ashes, and perhaps the very sort of thing which Horace

ridiculed in the hands of Aufidius Luscus at Fundi.¹ It reads, in two lines,

et · sua lentiku kaian ·
nakina tarisakvil ·

which may be translated “hanc publicam caiam (or hoc publicum vatillum) [dedit] Nakina Tarisaquil”—the last manifestly an Etruscan name with its *-quil* ending (compare *Tanaquil*). Indeed a few genuine Etruscan inscriptions have been found at the Venetic city Padua whence this Rætic “paletta” comes, and the Rætic dialect of Sondrio to the north-west shows some clearly Etruscanizing features, as in

ꝛ :: *esia · l :: lepalial*

where, tacked on to Keltic names, we have the Etruscan *-al* ending (itself probably taken from Lydia), adapted to an Indo-European speech as in Lepontic names like *piuotialui*. Both parts of the bilingual inscription of Voltino,² written c. 100 B.C. in Rætic and in Latin, similarly show some Keltic name-elements.

4. THE INSCRIPTIONS OF MAGRÈ

But the votive inscriptions of Magrè are perhaps the most interesting of all. If *tinaxē*, which occurs several times, is a verbal form, perhaps meaning “gave,” it is difficult to dissociate the ending *-ke* or *-xē* from the Etruscan preterite ending *-ce*, whether or not the *-k-* or *-c-* element has anything to do with the *-k-* of the Greek perfect or strong aorist (ἔθηκε) and the *-c-* of Latin *fecit*. But, as we have already seen, not all the Rætic forms ending in *-ke* (*-xē*) are verbal. Among the Magrè votive inscriptions we find one reading

klevie va · l · tikiñu asua

which seems to be made up of three names, as if “Cluvius Voltigenus Asua,” each of them with its own interesting features, *klevie* for the preservation of its *k*-sound (as in Illyrian *Vesclenes*), *va · l · tikiñu* as compared with Venetic *voltixenei* (gen. sg.) and *vo · l · tixno · s* (nom. sg.), and *asua* for its masculine termination

¹ Hor., *Sat.*, I, 5, 36; see further Whatmough, *Glotta*, 21, 1933, pp. 21 ff.

² *Prae-Italic Dialects*, II, no 249.

-a (as in Latin *Casca*, *Cinna*) which is now known to be Illyrian ¹ (Rætic and Messapic) as well as Etruscan.

Now many of these same inscriptions begin with what can hardly be anything but a divine name, *ritiei* (and *reit-*, for there are several variant spellings). And this divine name can hardly be other than the one that appears in many Venetic inscriptions at Este, where it is spelled *re · i · tia*,² even though at Magrè the goddess who bore it seems to have had some of the attributes of a goddess rather like the Greek Artemis, whereas *Re · i · tia* at Este reminds us of the Roman Juno Lucina. We shall return to the Venetic goddess below (see p. 171). Meanwhile there are other Rætic divine names that call for mention. The chances

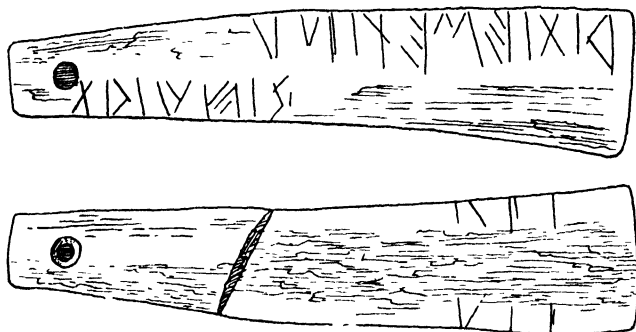


FIG. 58.—Inscribed Fragment of Stag's Horn from Magrè.

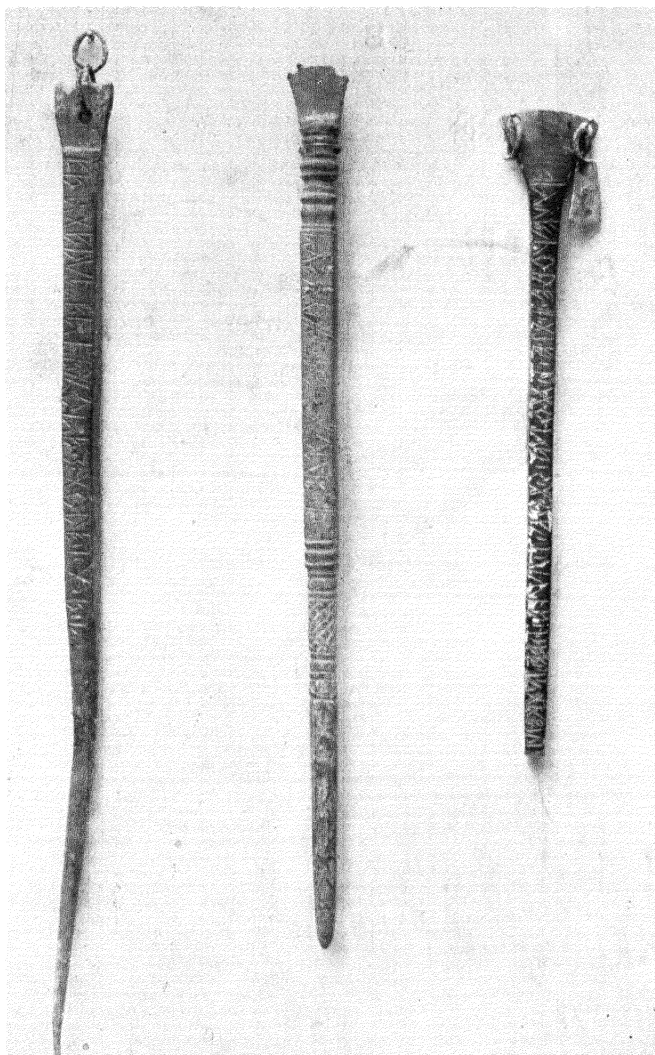
that *Har(ceius)* or (*Mercurius*) *Arcecius* at Bregenz is Keltic and not Rætic are about even, and another epithet of Mercury, *Cimiacinus* (at Epfach) is surely Keltic. It is not astonishing to find the river Rhine deified (*Rhennus*), or a god *Bergimus* (Arco) with a name very near to that of the city Bergomum. But *Louccianus* at Belluno is well within Rætic territory; his name probably has the same connotation as the Oscan epithet of Jupiter, namely *Leucetius* (see p. 158 above); while the Arusnates, a Rætic tribe who lived just north of Verona, worshipped not only a *Iuppiter Feluennis*,³ but also deities called *Cuslanus*, *Ihamnagalle*

¹ See Krahe, *Lexikon Altillyrischer Personennamen*, Heidelberg, 1929, p. 160

² Rather than *rehtia*? See Whatmough, *Classical Philology*, 29, 1934, p. 283.

³ Possibly a local epithet; cf. *Silvanus Feluennis* ?] at Verona ?

PLATE VIII



VOTIVE PINS FROM ESTE

and *Sqnnagalle* (sic). In the names of the last two it is likely enough that *galle* should be separated as the epithet (dat. sg. fem.?) and *Sqnnna* compared with the Keltic *Sequana*. There would be clear indications then of Keltic settlers; but the spelling is characteristically Etruscan, though it is the only example of it (and in an inscription otherwise Latin at that)¹ from Rætic lands. Yet another inscription refers specifically to *sacra Rætica* and, most interesting of all, two flamines of the Arusnates were described by the title *mannisnauius* which must mean "waterer (or purifier?) of the horses (or hands?)". A local philanthropist gave to his fellow-townsmen a sacred well or watering-place called *udisna* (compare Latin *unda* standing for an older **udna*). This word, like the priestly epithet *mannisnauius* and the name *Arusnates* itself agrees with a number of words in Rætic inscriptions in showing the combination of sounds *-sn-* (foreign to Latin, though not to Umbrian) often enough to enable us to regard it as Rætic—there is no need to assign it to any other dialect, Venetic or Umbrian. In the former it is unknown and the latter is geographically far away.

5. THE VENETI : THEIR GODDESS RE · I · TIA

But the Veneti, like the Ræti, used horses freely. We have not only bits and fragments of bits from their graves, but we find that images of horses were dedicated to the Venetic goddess *Re · i · tia*, and there is the direct testimony of Strabo² to the famous Venetic breed of horses: *e · keupe-thari · s ·* on two Venetic epitaphs is undoubtedly the equivalent of Latin **Equi-petarius* "charioteer," literally "horse-driver". However, there are two other classes of dedications to this goddess of healing, such as her epithet *ŷahnati-* "**sanatrix*" proves her to have been, and perhaps also the word *akeo* that is repeated (usually sixteen times) on one set of those dedications. For *akeo* is no doubt to be connected

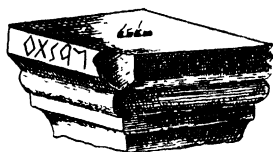


FIG. 59.—Inscribed Pedestal with Horse's Hoofs (Este)

¹ C.I.L. 5, 3900. For another interpretation see Pauli, *Die Veneter*, p. 392.

² 5, 1, 4, 212 C.

with the Greek ἀκέομαι "cure," the literal meaning of which may have been "to pin the edges of a wound together" (compare Latin *acus*, *acies*). Be that as it may, besides the alphabetic tablets dedicated to *Re · i · tia*, the significance of which is still not clear, her worshippers, most of them women, offered to her a specialized votive type of pins, and these last, with their jingling pendants attached, most probably indicate that she was a goddess of childbirth.¹ This view of her healing functions is confirmed, not so much by comparing her with the Spartan Orthia (whom she perhaps resembled in nothing but name), nor even by the mention in Livy and Strabo of a pre-Roman goddess similar to Juno or Hera, but by other epithets: *vrota* "turner" (referring to the mode of "presentation" of an infant at birth) like *antevorta* and *postvorta* applied to Carmenta, *lah · v · na* which may be connected with *Λοχία* applied to Artemis (compare also the Messapic *lahona*), and possibly even *musicata* if that means "possessed of charms" as the very name of *Carmenta* does. It is not an unreasonable view of the puzzling alphabetic tablets to regard them as spells or charms intended to secure a safe delivery for women in labour (*· o · ποσοφο · s ·* "operibus," that is ὠδίνεσσι, is the Venetic term).

6. TRADITION AND DIALECT

But it is time to leave this fascinating goddess of the Veneti, whose great cult-centre was at Ateste, the modern Este, and to consider the people in the light of their written history and material remains—a single dedication to *Libera* at Cadore under her Venetic name *lo · u · xera*, evidently the same *Libera* who appears in Latin inscriptions at Aquileia and very frequently in Dacia, Dalmatia, and Pannonia, need not detain us. She was in any event probably distinct from *Re · i · tia*. The ethnic name *Veneti* is a widely spread one—it reappears in Latium (*Venetulani*), at Lake Constance (*Lacus Venetus*), in Gaul (the *Veneti* of Armorica, cf. *Venelli*), and finally as the name of eastern Slavonic neighbours of early Germanic peoples (*Venedi*), for it is doubtful whether the *Ἐνετοί* of Paphlagonia really have the same name.

¹ See Whatmough, J., *Journal of Roy Anthropol. Inst.*, 52, 1922, pp. 212 ff.; and *Præ-Italic Dialects*, 1, pp. 85 ff.

If this is anything more than coincidence, it points to the possibility of a common origin of certain Indo-European-speaking tribes who at the dawn of history are already geographically far apart. Livy's story that the Veneti came from Paphlagonia may be discarded, though he is unquestionably right in regarding them as settled in north Italy before the Etruscans.¹ The careful study of ancient Venetic names made at the end of the last century by Pauli² leaves little doubt that Herodotus³ was nearer the mark when he called them Illyrians. In the same place Herodotus describes a curious marriage-custom of the Veneti: once a year the marriageable maidens of a village were assembled together and each young man, as he made his choice among them, had to pay a sum of money which was determined in proportion to the beauty of the maiden he had chosen. The sum thus obtained was used by the public official in charge of this "auction" to dower the less beautiful and thus afford them the chance of securing a husband. It is possible that there was a survival of this ancient practice at Venice as late as the twelfth century in the "Feste delle Marie" by which dowries for poor maidens were furnished;⁴ and both the Veneti and the Messapians are said to have been fond of wearing black.⁵

The evidence of archæology shows the Veneti as a peaceful people engaged in commercial pursuits, and, over a long period of time prosperous and wealthy, though tradition represents them as allies of the Romans first against the Gauls and then against the Carthaginians. Certainly they never passed under Etruscan domination. It was under force of circumstances that they passed under Roman control toward the end of the Second Punic War, at first with complete autonomy in internal administration. We have already observed the gradual extension of Roman power in Cisalpine Gaul by the planting of colonies (p. 157) and the building of roads. In 89 B.C. the Veneti received the status of the "ius Latinum," and, no doubt with the rest of Transpadane Gaul, the full franchise from Julius Cæsar. Their dialect and their customs they preserved largely intact at least until the last century of the

¹ 1, 1, 2 and 5, 33.

² *Die Veneter*, pp. 414 ff.

³ 1, 196.

⁴ See, for a full description of the Feste, Hodgson, F. C., *The Early History of Venice*, London, 1901, pp. 113 ff.

⁵ Ps.-Scymnus 400; Timæus ap. Schol. Lycophr., 1137.

Republic. Thus the divine names preserved even in Latin inscriptions show an unusually large number of non-Latin cults: the springs of *Aponus*, *Atlantedobo* (Keltic?), *Alus* (identified with Saturn, and the name itself perhaps cognate with Latin *alo*), *Ambisager* (if correctly read), *Brasennus*, the *Fati Deruones*, *Fonio*, *Ludrianus*, some of whom are probably Rætic, as well as the Keltic *Saxanus* and *Matronæ*, the Sabine *Feronia*, and the ancient *Gradiuus* (Mars), whose name appears in its Latin form. The deification of the lake Benacus, and of the rivers Timavus and *Æsontius* is, of course, in line with ancient Italian practice everywhere.

There are also several local names of great interest, both historically and linguistically. In *Brundulus portus* we have a stem that reappears along the east of Italy (*Forobrentani* in Umbria, *Brundisium* or *Βρεντέσιον* in Calabria); *Arten(i)a* and *Atina* are both Venetic and Volscian,¹ *Calina* is Venetic and *Cælia* is Messapic. Side by side with the Messapic *Lupia* (Lecce) we have a Rætic personal name *Luppa*² and a Venetic one *Lubia*, and it is tempting to compare *Manduria* and *Mantua* if in the latter we may suppose that *-d-* was changed to *-t-* in Etruscan pronunciation. Again the Venetic *Tarnisium* shows the same sort of formation as *Brundisium*, both names containing also animal names (*taruo-*, *tauro-* "bull"; *brundo-* "stag,") just as the Messapic (?) *gandeia* "skiff" finds its nearest analogue in modern Venetian *gondola*. An element *tara-* meaning "water, sea, river" is common both to Messapic *Tarentum* (*Τάραντος*) and a northern (Æmilian) *Tarus* or (Illyrian) *Τάρα*. It is not likely that these and many other coincidences are mere accident; nor is it probable that they imply anything other than a common source. On the other hand, *Sabini* (Val Sabbia) and *Sabinus* have been interpreted, though not very convincingly, as implying a large migration, otherwise unrecorded, of Samnites to Cisalpine Gaul. Both Venetic and Latin would show *-b-* in this name for the Samnite *-f-*, so that *Sabinus* is not necessarily the pure Latin form, and it is more likely that the frequency of names in *Sab-* or *Sap-* in Venetic and adjoining districts should be explained by the theory that the

¹ It is worth noting that one ancient tradition (Serv., on Verg., *Æn.*, II, 842) preserved the memory of an Illyrian element among the Volscians.

² Vollmer, *Hermes*, 49, 1914, pp. 311 ff.

Samnites of central Italy left behind their names at places where they paused on their southward migration at the beginning of the iron age. No doubt the change of the name *Adria* to *Atria* in ancient times (and back again to *Adria* in modern times by a regular Italian phonetic change), like the by-form *Βητριάκόν* beside *Bedriacum* was the doing of the Etruscans, but the old identification of *Adria* as an Etruscan seaport,¹ despite the inscribed Etruscan sherds which turn up from time to time at *Adria*, is doubtful. Venetic, Greek, and Keltic sherds are also found there, and *Spina* at any rate was much further south and, as recent excavations have proved, was near the modern *Commachio*. The Etruscans in fact, as we saw above, never succeeded in establishing themselves well within, but only on the fringes of, the *Veneti*; whereas there were large Keltic tribes not only to their west (the *Cenomani*) and south (the *Lingones* and *Anamari*), but also as the archæological evidence shows even at the site *Este* itself, where the last pure *Atestine* remains lie beneath mixed *Atestine-La Tène* material and this beneath the Roman.

7. TYPICAL VENETIC DOCUMENTS

But unquestionably the direct remains of the Venetic dialect, in the form of inscriptions written in it, are the most interesting in themselves, and all but equal those of *Oscan* for the study not only of the ancient languages of Italy, but also in the history of the western Indo-European tongues. Here are three examples,² taken from one of the votive tablets discovered at *Este*, from an epitaph at *Padua*, and from a vase-inscription also discovered at *Padua*. The articulate part of the text of the first reads

mexo zona · s · to e · φ · vhaφabtša pora · i · o · posoφo · s

which may be translated into Latin "*me donavit Eb(ura?) Fabatia optimæ*"³ (sc. *Re · i · tiæ*) [*ex*] *operibus*" (or "*laboribus*"). Without going into a minute and detailed discussion of the many features of great linguistic interest, let us be content to observe *mexo* "*me*," to which the nearest comparable forms are the Greek

¹ Pauli, *Altital. Forsch.*, 1, p. 67.

² *Prae-Italic Dialects*, 1, nos. 1, 141, 150.

³ This rendering, which goes back to Pauli, is at least highly probable; see *Prae-Italic Dialects*, Glossary, s.vv.

ἐμέγε and the Gothic *mik*, the latter the more important comparison inasmuch as in their pronouns both Venetic and Messapic show a remarkable agreement with Germanic—note especially the Venetic *selboi selboi* “for himself,” like Old High German *selbo selbo*, and the Messapic *veinan* (fem.) “own,” like the Germanic *meina*, *peina*, *seina* “mine, thine, his (own)”; the middle ending (third singular) of the unaugmented sigmatic aorist *ζονα · s · to*; the symbols ϕ , ζ , χ denoting sounds (probably some variety of spirant)¹ instead of which Latin has *b*, *d*, *g*; the ablative ending *-φoς* which thus corresponds to Latin *-bus*; and the assibilation of *-t-* before *-i-* in *vβαφατῖῶ* (*-abt-* standing for *-āt-*). Usually in these dedications the goddess herself is mentioned by name (*Re · i · tia*) either alone, or with an epithet, or the epithet may be used alone instead of her name.

Next, the epitaph from Padua:

pυpone · i · e · χo rako · i · e · κυπεθари · s ·

that is “Pupono ego Ræci (or Racī?) Equipetarius (I, Mareschal, son of Raecus [set this up] in honour of Puponus)”. Here observe the nominative *e · χo* (like Greek ἐγώ, Latin *ego*, Gothic *ik*); the name *Puponus* (or *Pupona*) which is found also in the “East Italic” inscriptions; and the preservation of *-ku-* in *e · κυπεθари · s ·* as in the Pannonian *Ecco* and the Tarentine (Messapic?) *ἑκκος* as contrasted with the Keltic *Eppo*, *Epona* and Greek *ἑππος*. Finally, an inscription on a vase of the fifth century in type,

voθo κλυθιари · s · vβαχ · s · θo

that is “Voto² Clutiaris fecit (or ἐποίησατο, fieri iussit)”. At Padua *θ* seems to be used with hardly any difference from *t* elsewhere. Otherwise there is nothing to remark in this inscription except, once more, the preservation of *k* in *κλυθιари · s ·* as in Messapic *klaobizis*. The reader will have observed already one important fact for the classification of Venetic, namely, that it does not belong (as Albanian does) to the eastern or *satem* group of Indo-European languages which changed *k*-sounds into

¹ Observe the spelling in *ne · r · karziakna* (no. 34), that is, I think, “Ner(i)ka Diagena,” see *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 44, 1933, p. 119.

² *Votomis* (gen.), *C.I.L.* 12, 5679, 79.

PLATE IX



EPITAPH FROM PADUA

s- or *sh-* sounds. On the other hand, it seems unlikely that it labialized *gʷ*-sounds, as witness *e · kypethari · s ·* and the proper names *Liquentia* (compare Greek *λείπω*), *Misquihenses* (compare Greek *αἰπόλος*, Latin *colo*), *Galgestes* (compare Lithuanian *žalgà* ?), and *Alpes Iuliae* (compare Greek *ζυγόν*, Latin *iugum*)¹ with the so-called "pure velar" *g*. Messapic seems to agree in this respect with Venetic. Two important conclusions follow: (1) that ancient Illyrian, so far as we can now judge, was not the ancestor of modern Albanian, or if it was, it was a different dialect of Illyrian from that known to us either in Italy or in Illyricum. More probably Albanian is descended from a Thracian dialect which came down to the eastern coast of the Adriatic after the Romans suppressed Illyrian when they all but exterminated the Illyrians there. And (2) that Illyrian, like the recently discovered Tocharish and Hittite, belonged to an extremely ancient form of Indo-European speech, earlier, it would appear than the development of *centum* and *satem* dialects as such, and comparable rather with Latin before the development of sibilant sounds, before front vowels, in nearly all the Romance dialects.

It would take us too far afield adequately to discuss here the theory that the medial puncts in the Venetic inscriptions were a device for indicating the non-syllabic value of certain consonantal or semi-consonantal symbols. Let us be content to note (1) the distribution of the inscriptions at Este (by far the great majority were found there), at Padua, the chief city of the Veneti, though not of the Atestine civilization (unless the accidents of exploration and of continued occupation of the latter city as a large centre of population are misleading), at Vicenza, in the valley of the Piave (Oderzo, Treviso, Belluno, Monte Pore, and Pieve di Cadore), at Trieste, and, crossing the Alps, in the Plocken Pass, the Gurina, and at Wurmlach; (2) their range of date, from the fifth to the first century B.C. It remains to call attention to one other feature of the Venetic inscriptions, namely, the great frequency of matronymic adjectives to identify the women who made offerings to *Re · i · tia*, as for example *vhuχiia vho · u · χα · n · tiaka* "Fugia Fugontiaca". It was suggested above (p. 103) that

¹ Hubschmied, *Schweitz. Literaturztg.*, 4, dated Jan. 27, 1933—a convincing suggestion. Thus *Iulia* would here have nothing to do, in the first place, with any member of the gens *Iulia* at Rome.

Venetic and Rætic make a transition in language from Italic to Germanic; for the details which indicate this the reader is referred to the paper mentioned there. Such a transition is perhaps characteristic of a peaceful people like the Veneti. But it should be observed that in frontier dialects there is usually a compromise effected which political frontiers are not able to suppress.

8. ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS OF THE VENETI

The word *ostuakon* occurring on a vase discovered at Treviso almost certainly means "ossuary" (compare Greek *ὀστέον*, *ὀστακός*). This is interesting because the Veneti, or better, the people who lived in possession of the Atestine civilization, cremated their dead, with hardly an exception. Even in the fourth Atestine period, which is in part of Gallic character, and to which the fondo Baratela, the source of many of the Venetic inscriptions, belongs, cremation is still the rule. It is true here, as we saw also of the regions further west, that much remains to be done to distinguish Gallic from late Venetic remains. The graves at Povegliano Veronese, however, show solely inhumation, but they are later still—contemporary in fact with the Ornavasso burials. The fourth Atestine period came to an end c. 150 B.C., when Romanization had begun. It is preceded by two clearly distinguished periods, the second and third Atestine periods, which range from early in the first millennium B.C. to about 350 or 300 B.C. For the invasions which brought the several varieties of "Villanovan" culture (in the broad sense of the term) into Italy were complete by about 1000 B.C.; and between the beginning of the second Este period, and end of the bronze age, there is, in the Atestine district a considerable lapse of years, as Randall-MacIver has shown. So far this lapse in time makes at Este a gap in our knowledge also; for the scanty material formerly described as "Este I" seems rather to be pre-Benacci in type and therefore to mark a transition to the early iron age than to be a part of it. It is concluded that the Atestines made their first settlements about 950 B.C.

The materials of Atestine type so far excavated all come from Este itself, apart from sporadic finds of similar objects, some of them possibly exported from Este. They are, moreover, of

PLATE X



INSCRIBED VASE FROM PADUA

great abundance and variety at Este and bear witness to a civilization of great wealth and prosperity, with commercial relationships with Bologna, as shown by the inspiration for much of the bronze-work, especially the *situlæ*, which came thence; and with the Danubian regions, as shown by Hallstatt swords of the familiar

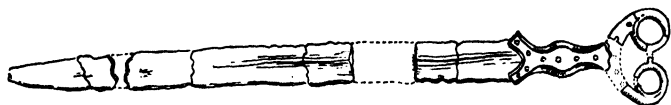


FIG. 60.—Bronze Antennæ-Sword.

“antennæ” type. There was apparently also some sea-borne trade of Transadriatic origin. The explanation of all this is first that the changing course of the turbulent Adige deserted Este about the close of the sixth century of our era, leaving the town to decline in a wilderness of sand dunes, and that the constant silting of the mouths of the Po has cut off Este, like Adria, from

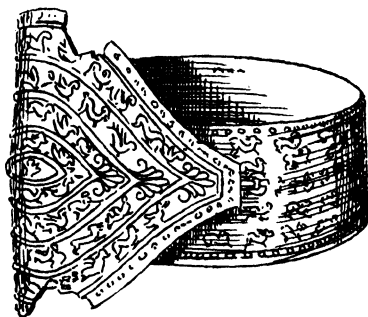


FIG. 61.—Bronze Girdle (Este III.).

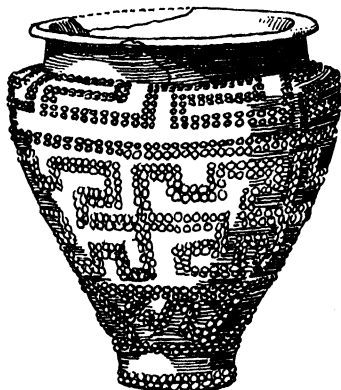


FIG. 62.—Vase Decorated with Bronze Studs (Este III.).

direct overseas trade—even had the Adige still flowed beneath its walls.

Leaving aside, therefore, the simple cremation burials of the transitional graves, the so-called first Atestine period—an ossuary frequently ornamented with patterns made by inserting bronze studs in rows before baking, and deposited directly in the earth

regarded as ultimately of Etruscan inspiration, with the Certosa situla perhaps an actual ancestor. It gives us admirable scenes from country life and from the field of battle, but it omits the ceremonial funeral procession of its Certosa prototype. But it should not be forgotten that we have a modified copy of an Etruscan original, even if the Benvenuti situla was actually fashioned at Este. In the same period the Etruscan alphabet also had been taken over by the Veneti and adapted to the writing of their own language. The older inscriptions have Θ for *b*, instead of the later $\uparrow\downarrow$, and the use of the symbols ϕ , χ , χ to denote the sounds corresponding to which Latin has *b*, *d*, *g* must have been dictated in part by the absence of the *b*, *d*, *g* symbols from the Etruscan alphabet. So, too, the Venetic abecedaria, which

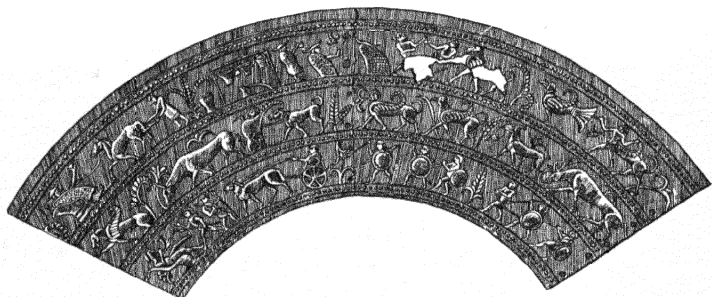


FIG. 65.—Detail of the Benvenuti Situla.

include *o*, just as the inscriptions do, from whatever source it came to them, put it last of all, which can only mean that the letter had been dropped from the alphabet of the Etruscans (their language having no *o*-sound) before it reached the Veneti. If the native Atestine work of the third period shows some Ionic and some Oriental influences, then, as it does, the route by which such influences came there, was not along the Adriatic, but from western Italy through Etruria and Bologna. But neither this nor any other outside influence began earlier than the end of the sixth century.

9. ROMANIZATION

Neither the linguistic nor the archæological remains of the Veneti, as now known, are so distributed as to fill an area coextensive with the Augustan *regio* or with the "Tre Venezie" of

modern Italy. Doubtless future discoveries will modify our present knowledge, but at present it does not appear that the extension of the Venetic dialect into Histria, as far as the new frontier and even beyond, east of the Julian Alps, is coincident with the extent of Atestine culture. This is not astonishing, for, by definition that culture is limited, and other varieties of early iron age civilization in "Venetia" almost certainly await discovery. On the north and west, however, the spread of Venetic idiom seems to come to a stop with the furthest expansion of Atestine culture which is reached in that direction at Verona. And there can be no question that the Venetic inscriptions of Este itself were written by Atestines of the fourth period. The tenth *regio* of Augustus was by far the largest of all. Yet in ancient times, in contrast with the numerous towns and cities that delight the modern traveller, it possessed but few. Hence each of these was the centre of an extensive territory, and lands administered from the ancient Mantua, for example, might well have been thirty Roman miles distant, even if Andes was but three as the best interpretation of the dubious ancient testimony seems to show. Certainly Etruscan or Keltic as well as Venetic, perhaps all these three strains, were united in the poet whom Mantua gave to Rome.¹ Tridentum and Verona owed their importance, first and last, to the ease of the Brenner Pass towards which they directly led along the valley of the Adige. Though the name of Catullus may not be identified with the Welsh Cadell or Cadwalla, as a recent fancy would have it, it is hard to deny that there is something of a Keltic movement in Latin literature that appears as strongly in the "liber" of the Veronese poet as anywhere; but perhaps the Arrius who misplaced his aspirates had not shaken off a Venetic accent from his speech.¹ However that may

¹ For a recent discussion of Vergil's parentage see Mary L. Gordon, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 24, 1934, pp. 1 ff. But there has been so much nonsense written about Vergil's ancestry and birthplace that the point is not pressed. Even more absurd is much of the popular chase after pre-historic Italy in the writings of Vergil. The Frenchman Couissin deserves credit for pointing out in a series of papers (*Revue des Cours et Conférences*, 33, 1, 1932, pp. 385 ff., 495 ff., 714 ff.; 33, 2, 1932, pp. 45 ff., 147 ff., 355 ff., 557 ff., 612 ff.) the obvious fact, that despite all Vergil's interest, enthusiasm, and erudition, the poet's reconstruction of primitive Italy, his conception of history, his chronology, and his knowledge, could not but be faulty. There is a brief résumé of Couissin's valuable articles in *L'année philologique*, 7, 1934 [1932], pp. 158 f.

be, there is some reason to believe that the "Patavinity" of which the third great writer in Latin from Venetia, the historian Livy, was accused by Pollio, was nothing in his writing, but merely a provincial flavour in his pronunciation of Latin. His was the chief city of Augustan Venetia, as Este was of prehistoric, and Venice is of modern Venetia. Through it ran a branch of the via Postumia, which came from Ariminum, Ravenna, and Atria, on to Altinum, Concordia, Aquileia, and Tergeste. The via Æmilia was joined by a cross-road through Hostilia to Verona with this same branch from Patauium and Vicetia—a net-work of roads that show clearly how far already the process of reclamation of Cisalpine Gaul that they helped to complete had gone.

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¹ Cf. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 43, 1934, p. 118, and the whole article for Livy's "Patavinity".

CHAPTER VIII

THE REGIO ÆMILIA, THE AGER GALLICUS, AND UMBRIA

I. BOUNDARIES

IN the preceding chapter there was not a complete agreement between the frontiers of the Augustan *regio* and the cultural limit of Atestine civilization or the linguistic limits of the Venetic dialect. But the association of dialect and culture (in its later stages at least) was sufficiently close, and the extent of both sufficiently in harmony with the geographical boundary (as falling chiefly within it at any rate), that the political frontier of a much later date served as a convenient setting for the discussion of both the archæological and the linguistic evidence. But in the present chapter, devoted to an area corresponding to two Augustan *regiones*, there is no such rough correspondence of boundaries. The Umbria of Augustus must be bisected by a line running almost due north and south in the longitude of Gubbio (the ancient Iguvium)—which is not far from the longitude of Perugia and of Rome. This line marks a most important cultural distinction of funerary rite in the early iron age, with cremation to the west, inhumation to the east. And, as we shall see, the difference in funerary rite is accompanied by other marked differences in material remains implying differences in “national” character, that point very clearly to distinct “races”. It would seem, therefore, that von Duhn’s terminology, which speaks of cremating “Italici” and inhuming “Italici” to the west and east respectively of this line is misleading in its suggestion of a single race, divided into two groups merely but significantly by the prevailing method of disposing of the dead, as well as unfortunate in its use of the unsatisfactory label “Italic” (see p. 109 above). It would be even less justifiable to use the later ethnic label “Umbrian,” unless that be restricted to the *eastern* part of

the region, and also unless the common assumption that these "Umbrians" were invaders from the north with Hallstatt affinities be abandoned—for nothing could be more misleading. This eastern part, as a glance at the map will show, is by far the larger subdivision of the Augustan Umbria made by our north-and-south line, even if we subtract from it the eastern angle which the Romans came to describe as the "Ager Gallicus". The associations, in fact, of eastern Umbria are with Picenum still further east. On the other hand, the north-western corner, between the north-and-south line, the Rubicon, and the Apennines, goes with the "Villanovans," both northern and southern, who were early astride the by no means difficult barrier of the mountains. What the Apennines failed to do, the warlike *Picenes* of Picenum proper and the kindred tribes of eastern Umbria, as was seen by Randall-MacIver (from whom this convenient and judicious label is taken), were able very easily and quite decisively to do, that is to hold back the northern invaders. Finally the Etruscans spill over the boundary of Etruria proper into southern Umbria where the mountain chain is no longer the political frontier.

The eighth *regio* of Augustus is best known by the name *Æmilia*, which was taken from the famous road that ran through it from Ariminum on the Adriatic coast to Placentia in the mid-course of the river Po. This name, which is still in use, was established in popular currency as early as Martial and officially but little later, whereas the Augustans themselves, if we may judge from Livy's usage, spoke of the "provincia Ariminum" or simply of "Gallia"; and the common designation "Cispadana," though it has the advantage of indicating the northern frontier, clearly has no known ancient warrant whatsoever. Pliny defines the limits of what will be called *Æmilia* on the north as the river Po, from above Placentia to its mouth; and, on the east, south-west, and south respectively, as the Adriatic Sea from the mouth of that river as far south as Ariminum (and further south therefore than the Rubicon), with the main range of the Apennines and river Ariminus. Umbria, including the "ager Gallicus," was the sixth Augustan *regio*. South of the boundary of *Æmilia* its western frontier marched first with the Apennines and then turned south to follow the Tiber from its head waters to a point just south of the confluence of the

Nar. Along the Adriatic the coast between Ariminum and the river Æsis (just north of Ancona) belonged to Umbria. On the south the boundary was formed by the rivers Aesis and Nar and an irregular line running between the head waters of these two. Thus the via Flaminia, taking an easier pass over the Apennines than the modern Rome to Ancona railway, ran right through central Umbria from Oriculum over the Scheggia Pass to the Metaurus, to Fanum Fortunæ, and thence to Rimini and so along the via Æmilia to Bononia.

2. DIALECT

No testimony to the pre-Roman speech of Æmilia, apart from Etruscan inscriptions found at Etruscan colonies north of the Apennines, has been preserved for us except that afforded by local and divine names and then only through Greek and Latin sources. These are no doubt instructive so far as they go, but we could wish their evidence went further. Nor are we in much better case in Umbria, for it is quite uncertain how far "Iguvine" is typical of the pre-Roman speech of the entire district; on the Adriatic coast, indeed, from Rimini, Pesaro, Novilara, and Fano, all except the first in the "ager Gallicus," we have half a dozen præ-Italic inscriptions written in a dialect totally different from "Iguvine" and the few other more fragmentary remains of "Umbrian," and also totally different from the Keltic inscriptions of Cisalpine Gaul and of Todi (in Umbria). And to give the lie to the rash guesses of some students of these inscriptions, which I have called northern "East Italic" (see p. 107 above), there is no evidence that the Etruscans ever made any headway on this part of the Adriatic coast of Italy.

3. PROPER NAMES OF ÆMILIA

Let us begin with Æmilia. Among the local names, *Bononia*, *Rhenus* (now the Reno), and *Forum Gallorum* at least testify to the Gauls, and the first to the Boii in particular. *Brixellum* is also no doubt Keltic, but more than one near-by comparison is possible—not only *Brixia* (Brescia) but also *Brixenetus*, the name of a northern Rætic tribe,¹ contains the same element,

¹ *Præ-Italic Dialects*, 1, p. 452.

and this (**brig-*) is well attested in many Keltic names. *Rasina* wears an Etruscan look, but has itself so little authority, that not much weight can be given to it. It is possible that the ending *-ua* in *Padua*,¹ Παδῶα and perhaps in Κοοῦη (?) was Illyrian, as *Forodruentinum* or *Forum Truentinorum* (apart from the Latin *forum*) undoubtedly is, no less than the Picene—originally Liburnian—*Truentus*. But for the *Padua* of Catullus we read *Padusa* in Vergil; and in the element *Pad-*, which reappears not only in *Padus*, the name of the river Po in its lower course, but also in *Padinum*, *Padinates* (Æmilia), we seem to have a Rætic or Illyrian form of the Ligurian *Bod-incus*, the name of the river Po in its upper course. The river name *Tarus* also is probably or possibly Illyrian (cf. p. 174 above). *Derquiliæ*, both a personal and a local name might be either Ligurian or merely Latin. We have already seen (p. 142) that there is an extensive monument containing many names which must belong to a remnant of the ancient Ligurian population in western Æmilia, the “*Tabula Vecliatium*,” but we must recall not only the Ligurian *-quel-*, *-cel-* (*Stomceli*, *Soliceli*) but also the Venetic *-quil-* as in *Misquilienses* (in Venetia). In *Aquinates* we have no doubt Volscian colonists; *Regium*, however, in *Lepidum Regium* may well be as ancient and as purely Italic as *Regium* at the straits of Messina (cf. p. 18). Thus we have testimony in the local names of the district to a succession of tribes speaking different dialects, not only Ligurian and Italic, but also Illyrian, and last of all Keltic and Latin.

Some of the divine names are of interest linguistically as well as for the light they throw on local cults. We have the *Matronæ* and *Iunones* of Keltic tradition; an obscure deity *Diveron* (Bologna), whose name, it has been suggested, may be a corruption of that of the Keltic goddess *Diuna* or *Deuona*; *Belenus* (Rimini) of Illyrian or Norican tradition; a Sabine *Dina Sabina*, perhaps to be identified with *Feronia*; the Venetic or Pannonian *Libera*; and an unexplained *Dina Plotin[a]*. The worship of *Padus pater* we have already met elsewhere; Jupiter appears at Faventia and Forum LIVI (Faenza and Forlì) with a cult-title *Opsequens* or *Obsequens* that seems to be otherwise unknown, but at the great shrine of *Minerva Medica* near Travi,

¹ *Præ-Italic Dialects*, p. 407.

whence numerous dedications have been recovered, the epithet *Cabardiacensis* is really a local name (*pondus Carbardiacensis* at Veleia), and in the *Diua Matidia* of Ariminum, if correctly read, we probably have nothing more than a personal name.

4. ETRUSCAN REMAINS AT BOLOGNA

The chief features of the Villanovan civilization at Bologna and neighbouring sites were described in Chapter III. Here we must add that it was succeeded by the Etruscan from about the end of the sixth century. Two hundred years of occupation of Etruria proper had established the Etruscans firmly enough there to enable them to colonize northern Italy. This colonization was never anything more than the settlement of trading centres bolstered up by an administrative organization, a loose federation of twelve cities as a counterpart to that of Etruria—there was never any conquest or annexation of Cisalpine Gaul by the Etruscans, still less any planting of large bodies of Etruscans to supplant the older population. The cultural results were doubtless considerable—not the least important being the diffusion of the Etruscan alphabet throughout the entire region, including the sub-Alpine valleys, and the spread of a modified form of one or more of those sub-Alpine or north Etruscan alphabets among Germanic-speaking peoples.¹

At Felsina near Bologna, and at the neighbouring Marzabotto were two of the earliest, and Felsina always remained the most important, of these Etruscan colonies. The two seaport cities Atria and Spina, have yielded numerous Etruscan vase inscriptions, especially the latter which is now being excavated (the modern Commachio). To the north Melpum (Melzo?), not far from Milan, was their furthest outpost with Mantua, the name of which is said to have been Etruscan in origin—according to an old tradition preserved in the commentators on Vergil, to whose own day Mantua seems to have preserved

¹ The runes. Cf. *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, p. 505, with n. 1. The similarity between the Runic script and the Venetic was noted first, I think, by Skeat in 1908, see *Athenaum*, Aug. 8, 1908. But it is not the mere similarity that counts; the important facts are that the oldest Germanic inscription (*ibid.*, p. 610, no. 2*) is in a north-Etruscan alphabet and that the oldest runic texts appear in the western, not the eastern, parts of the extensive early Germanic-speaking territory.

some of its Etruscan features ; and a few Etruscan inscriptions have been found in the vicinity even of the Venetic city Padua. But the restricted extent and the general nature of the Etruscan settlement of Cisalpine Gaul is shown by archæological excavation to have been such that the theory of an Etruscan invasion of that part of Italy, either across the Alps or from the Adriatic coast, is completely disproved, just as the total lack of connexion of any sort between Etruscan and Picene remains discredits the perverse notion that the Etruscans (as distinguished from the Rasenna) were indigenous. On the Adriatic coast was an ancient race, descended in all probability from the neolithic inhabitants of the peninsula, who kept both Etruscans and Villanovans at bay, and in Cisalpine Gaul the Villanovans and Atestines and Comacines, not to mention the Ligurians, were on the soil long before any Etruscan soldier or merchant or administrator set foot there.

5. THE CERTOSA SITULA

The Etruscan remains at Bologna, especially those associated with the mixed Certosa graves (about one-third cremation graves), are important because they are dated, from the Greek painted pottery which was discovered with them, as beginning in the fifth century ; and thus, through a new type of fibula, the Certosa fibula which makes its first appearance here, these same remains afford an important criterion of date in the many other localities to which that type of fibula was carried. We may note also the characteristic Etruscan funeral stelæ of Bologna, shaped like an elongated horse-shoe, and filled with sculptured scenes from war or mythology, frequently arranged in zones inside a surrounding border. But the most important single object is the Certosa situla, itself or a very similar one the prototype of much of the repoussé work on situlæ throughout north Italy and even up into and beyond the eastern Alpine valleys. The four zones of repoussé scenes entirely filling, except near the rim and the base, the bronze sheet of which the situla was fashioned are of most varied character. At the top



FIG. 66 —Certosa Fibula.

there are warriors, first two mounted and wearing the round Etruscan helmet, then four groups of foot soldiers, all except the last group, who have only spears, armed with spears and shields—oval, rectangular, or round. At the bottom we have animals, both merely terrestrial ones, the stag and lion, and also mythical ones—winged lions, one of them in the act of swallowing a man. Between these two zones come two others :



FIG. 67.—Etruscan Funerary Stele (Bologna).

(1) the picture of a funeral procession—according to Ducati's interpretation—the bronze ossuary slung on a pole and carried by two men, preceded by three women carrying firewood for the pyre, a *cista*, and a basket ; these by three other men in long cloak and *petasus* ; and by an ox, destined no doubt, like the ram that follows the ossuary, to be slaughtered at the pyre. Two bare-headed retainers are carrying a *situla*—just in front of the ram, which is followed by three men, again in long cloak and *petasus*, then by three women carrying jars on

their heads, another man, also carrying a jar, and then a man carrying an axe and a sword (?), and last of all a dog. (2) The zone next to the bottom is occupied with agricultural and market scenes, and (in the centre) a scene with two minstrels with lyre and pipes, and behind them two boys engaged in playing some game. The *situla* may not actually have been manufactured in Felsina ; but there can be no doubt that it is Etruscan work

and represents a genuine Etruscan tradition with its mingled Oriental and Hellenic features.



FIG. 68.—The Certosa Situla.

6. THE KELTS AT BOLOGNA

The Apennines mark off two regions of contrasted climate and in ancient times also, to a certain degree, of contrasted culture.

The region to the north became a market for finished products, and Bologna with its command of the main routes to the south and its multiple lines of communication with the Po valley, must have played an important part in this trade throughout the early iron age. Even as early as the seventh century a few Etruscan objects, jewelry and the like, began to filter through to Bologna, and once the Etruscan colony was planted, there were extensive new developments that affected every side of life—streets and buildings, art, religion, overseas and internal commerce. But the Etruscan development of the entire region, and with it for the time also the impetus to city-life, was cut short by the Keltic invasions, and in due course a Keltic settlement was planted near Bologna. For a time the invading “Gauls” were not unaffected, at least in this eastern part of Cisalpine Gaul, by the civilization of their predecessors, and late Etruscan remains occur sporadically side by side with those of La Tène type in the earliest Keltic graves. Gradually, however, this Etruscan influence, never strong in the west, fades away here also. At Marzabotto it would almost appear that the Etruscans vacated their lands and dwellings before the oncoming tide of the Keltic invasion. In the older Gallic graves there—inhumation burials—are found typical Gallic iron weapons, La Tène fibulæ (of both the first and second La Tène periods), torques, bracelets of iron, bronze and a few of silver. Later on, in the third century, the Kelts seem to have adopted in part the practice of cremation from the Villanovans, who evidently had neither been stamped out nor assimilated by the Etruscans, and a century later still it was the Kelts themselves who were being absorbed into the life of the country.

7. UMBRIA

We pass now to Umbria. Here inhumation graves are more prominent than cremation graves. The latter ¹ lie tucked away in the upper part of the valleys of the short rivers which flow into the Adriatic, the Savio, Uso, Metauro, and the Sentino (a tributary of the Esino), and in the upper course of the Tiber and of its tributary the Nera—at Sarsina, Verucchio and neighbouring sites, Tifernum Metaurense (S. Angelo in Vado), Tifernum Tiberinum

¹ von Duhn, *Italische Gräberkunde*, i, pp. 178 ff.

(Città di Castello), Spoleto, Pianello, and Terni, this last also a Picene settlement. That is to say, they make a mere fringe along the edges of the inhuming people by whom Umbria was substantially occupied. It is a mistake, therefore, though a very common one, to think of Umbria as having been occupied by Villanovans—even southern Villanovans; and the practice of dubbing the Villanovans "Umbri" is unhappy and has led to much confusion of thought. Nevertheless, we are faced with an interesting situation, and indeed, a critical one for the combination of archaeological and linguistic evidence. If we accepted von Duhn's view of "inhuming Italici" this particular difficulty would be resolved, but the solution would raise many new difficulties—not least the impossibility of regarding the early iron age inhumation graves, here called "Picene" after Randall-MacIver's usage, as the burial-places of a branch of the same race that elsewhere universally practised cremation at that date, in view especially of the quite different nature of the tomb furniture of the two groups. Rejecting, then, von Duhn's theory in favour of that which regards the Picenes as descended from the old neolithic inhuming peoples, we observe that, apart from the few northern "East Italic" inscriptions, which though Indo-European are not Italic, the linguistic remains of Umbria all belong to the "Italic" group—either "Umbrian" as it is called, or the Latin which succeeded it.

8. DIALECT AGAIN AND "NATIONAL" GROUPS

Let us begin by observing that there is ample justification, both in ancient Italy and elsewhere, for regarding linguistic divisions as determined almost entirely by a "national" grouping of communities in a social if not in a political sense, but not as based upon an ethnic or racial grouping, or, originally at least, on a cultural grouping. What happens when a fusion takes place of peoples of different cultural origins—and this is precisely what took place in the Roman organization of Umbria beginning with the foundation of the colony of Narnia in 299 B.C.—is that the resultant "quasi-national" grouping adopts one particular language or dialect for national purposes, and the particular source of this dominant dialect, that is to say, the particular ethnic

or cultural unit from which it was taken, may remain obscure if the fusion is prehistoric, that is earlier than the beginning of written history. It is a simple matter to apply this sound general rule to the particular case of Umbria. The only documents actually written in the Italic "Umbrian" dialect—and students of the Italic dialects have deplored their fewness without understanding the reason for it—come from Gubbio itself (the Iguvine Tables), Todi, Assisi, and Spoleto, a distribution which agrees well with that of the cremating people of the Umbrian fringe. This dialect must have come from the cremating southern Villanovans who were stopped along this north-to-south line by the Picenes. It is as reasonably certain as anything can be in pre-Roman Italy that this dialect *never* was diffused throughout Umbria. The national language, after the fusion of the cultural groups of the district, was Latin, slowly adopted but dominant in the end, for the fusion itself was the work of Rome: no wonder if the number of inscriptions written in "Umbrian" is small, for the art of writing came late from Etruria, and the Etruscan language itself was dominant to the west, while the people who wrote those few "Umbrian" inscriptions were prevented from spreading eastwards by the Picenes; and no wonder if the dialect is much broken down. We may even hazard the prophecy that, provided the dialect of the Iguvine Tables really was that of southern Villanovans, then no inscriptions in that dialect will ever be found widely diffused through the Roman Umbria. It is further reasonably probable, if not certain, that the people whom Latin and Greek writers call *Umbri* or *Ὀμβροί*, and represent as having lived in more ancient times, even before the Etruscan conquest, all over central Italy north of the Tiber, did not speak that dialect. Whether the northern "East Italic" inscriptions really represent a fragment of the ancient speech of those true pre-Etruscan *Ὀμβροί*, is much more doubtful—other theories are possible, though none is yet proved. One other point must be made here: the remaining dialects of the Italic group properly so-called, Oscan, Volscian and the minor dialects, closely allied as they are to Umbrian, must represent a diffusion and subsequent fate not unlike that of Umbrian, though some of them seem to have come nearer to becoming "national" dialects for certain regions—not of course for Italy as a whole except perhaps some variety of

northern Oscan, and its last chance of becoming universal in Italy vanished with the defeat of the confederate tribes in the Social War. They are in fact all Samnite or Safine dialects rather than "Italic," carried southwards by colonizing bands, "sacred springs," who adopted the customs of the tribes they came to live among, but whose language was in turn adopted for a short time and then displaced by Latin. For south of Latium there is no longer any trace of the cremating "southern Villanovans," though future excavation and discovery in the still imperfectly known southern part of the peninsula may be expected to reveal scattered settlements—probably at just those scattered townships where dialect-inscriptions occur, and again provided that the highly probable correlation of Villanovans (in the wide sense) and speakers of Italic is correct, and that all possible allowance be made for the abandoning of their old rite of cremation and all that goes with it. The fact must never be lost sight of that our dialect evidence, apart from proper names, begins at a date considerably later than the movement of these peoples into and within Italy, later even than their permanent settlements and, so to speak, their "naturalization" in Italy.

In Herodotus ¹ Ὀμβρική is applied to the whole of central and northern Italy (as far even as the Alps!), and in Pliny ² the Umbrians are spoken of as the most ancient race of Italy. It has been observed that "Italic" local names in Etruria and in the Po valley tend to support the tradition that they were living in Italy before the Etruscans and that, like the historical Ligurians hemmed in by newcomers and restricted to the mountains, they were gradually restricted to the upland territory, which they held astride the Apennines in historical times, by the conquests of the Etruscans and Gauls, the former of whom are said to have captured three hundred "Umbrian" towns. If these *Umbri* of the tradition were really pre-Etruscan on the west coast of Italy, they may, as suggested above, have been there also before the "southern Villanovans." In that case, that part of traditional history, which represents them as having lost territory also to Picene enemies must be rejected, just as the "Umbrian" inscriptions must be assigned to later immigrants and not to the ancient *Umbri*. In fact, as we have seen, it is

¹ I, 94; 4, 49.

² 3, 112.

"Picene" not "Villanovan" civilization that occupies the greater part of the classical Umbrian territory. Moreover, ancient writers seem never to speak of a "lingua Umbrica," but only of Umbrians. We must be on our guard, therefore, against allowing the frontiers of the Augustan period to colour our ideas of the map of Italy six hundred years earlier. There is evidence of contact, however, between Etruria and Umbria, in the fact that the alphabet of the Iguvine and other non-Latin inscriptions of Umbria was borrowed from the Etruscan script. Coinage in Umbria received its first inspiration also from Etruria and is, in fact, confined to the Etruscan side of Umbria. The alien tribes whose expulsion from the Iguvine lustration-ceremonies is prescribed include Etruscans and the Illyrian Iapodes and Nahartes,¹ but, significantly enough not the Gauls, nor the Romans. On the other hand, the Iguvines at least recognized a deity **Picunus Martius*,² whose name suggests that of the Picentes, they regarded the *picus* as a bird of good omen, as possibly the Picentes did; and the Iguvine *toco* "sale conditos," referring to swine flesh, finds its best explanation by comparison with the Cisalpine word *tucetum*.³

9. LOCAL NAMES OF UMBRIA

Among the Umbrian local names⁴ *Dolates* and *Forobrentani* are possibly Illyrian—they are not the only testimony we have to Illyrians on the east coast of Italy; *Appenninus* may be either Keltic or Italic, *Sena Gallica* certainly is Keltic; side by side with the Latin form *Tiberinum*, *Tiberis* we have the dialectal *Tifernum*, *Tifernates*; it is interesting to find *Trebia* (*Trebrates*) in Umbria as well as *Trebia* in Æmilia, *Ocriculum* in Umbria (compare Iguvine *ocri-* "mountain") and *Ocra mons* on the boundary between the Ræti and Norici. The river names *Æsis* and *Tinia* both suggest Etruscan words—*æsar* "deus," *tinia* "Iupiter," but the Etruscan *æsar* was most probably borrowed from Italic, for river names in Italy showing the element *æs-*, *is-*, "sacred" (cf. *ἱερός*, Sanskrit *iṣṛá-s*?) are not uncommon—it is a very natural name for the purifying waters of a stream.

¹ Cf. *Prae-Italic Dialects*, II, p. 208 (cf. p. 169).

² But cf. *picus Martius* at Tiora (Aequi), Dion. Hal., I, 14, 5.

³ *Prae-Italic Dialects*, II, pp. 199 f.

⁴ *Italic Dialects*, pp. 437 ff.

Divine names are less interesting. At least *Valentia* (at Ocriculum) wears a Latin look if not *Visidianus* (at Narnia), *Frondisia* (at Sentinum), and *Minerua Matusia* (also at Sentinum). But the same cannot be said of *Supunna* (at Fulginiae) and *Raudus* (also at Fulginiae). The nearest parallel to the latter name is in the Transpadane local name *Campi Raudii*, where it may be Ligurian, and the termination *-unna* certainly has a parallel in the Ligurian *Vesunna*. But there is no reason to regard any of the deities honoured in the famous archaic Latin inscriptions of Pesaro (they include *Feronia*, *Liber*, *Marica*, *Mater Matuta*, and the *Di Nouensides*) as specifically Umbrian. *Iuppiter Appenninus* is not necessarily Celtic—he may be purely local. The most interesting documents from Umbria, however, for the light they throw on other institutions as well as religion at the ancient Gubbio, are the Iguvine Tables¹ themselves. The very names and epithets of the gods mentioned in them, despite their general similarity to Latin divine names, yet introduce us at once to a religious atmosphere more purely Italic than anything to be found in Latin literature: at Iguvium we have gods called *Trebus*, *Tefer*, and *Torra*, all somehow connected with Jupiter and therefore designated *Iouius* or *Iouia*, like the infernal *Hontus* to whom a purificatory sacrifice of a dog was ordained. *Hontus* is also called *Cerrius*, an epithet which he shares with the goddesses *Torra* and *Præstita*. But there is also *Cerrus Martius* and *Mars Hodius* and *Mars Grabovius*. The last epithet, no doubt somehow connected with the puzzling *Gradiuus* (p. 174), is attached also to *Iuppiter* and *Vouionus*; both *Fisus* and *Fisouius* are called *Sancius*; *Picunus Martius* we have already noted; and finally there is *Coredius*, of whom we know nothing save that three bullocks were to be sacrificed at his temple.²

10. THE IGUVINE TABLES

The seven bronze tables, two of the nine once known having been lost sight of less than a century after the original discovery

¹ *Italic Dialects*, pp. 399 ff., A. von Blumenthal, *Die iguvinischen Tafeln*, 1931. Bucheler's edition of 1883 is not yet superseded.

² I have given these names in what would have been their Latin forms, but have thought it unnecessary here to prefix the usual asterisk to denote forms not actually recorded in the language.

at Gubbio in 1444, are engraved—some of them on both sides—partly in the Latin alphabet (the later ones), partly in the “Umbrian” alphabet. The later ones contain in part a repetition, in an expanded form, of some of the provisions already formulated at an earlier date and set forth in the earlier tablets. The precise dates have not been determined, but the oldest can hardly have been engraved much before 400 B.C., and the latest must have been before 90 B.C. Taken all together they give us a text of over four thousand words, and in this even the repetitions are interesting to the student of the dialect for the light they throw upon its history and orthography. In content they give us the *acta* and liturgy of a brotherhood of priests, the *Fratres Atiedii*, not unlike the Roman Arval brethren, which may be recapitulated as follows :

I, VI, VII. Regulations for (a) the lustration of the sacred mount at Iguvium, and (b) for the assembly and purification of the people :

(a) Introductory auspices, the formulæ passed between the priest and the augur ; prohibition of interruptions ; boundaries of the “templum” ; the announcement of the auspices ; general prescription for the following sacrifices :

First sacrifice of three oxen to Jupiter Grabovius : a preamble and then three long prayers in identical terms for each of the three victims, followed by a concluding general prayer. Prescriptions for various rites in connexion with the sacrifice. (Trebulan gate.)

Second sacrifice of three pregnant sows to Trebus Iovius, with the same prayers as in the first sacrifice. (At the same place.)

Third sacrifice of three oxen to Mars Grabovius, with the same prayers again. (Tesenacan gate.)

Fourth sacrifice of three sucking pigs to Fisis Sancius, with the same prayers, followed by an offering of cakes, grain, and other offerings to Fisoivius Sancius, with a prayer somewhat different from those used hitherto. Additional special ceremonies. (Same place.)

Fifth sacrifice of three oxen with white foreheads to Vovionius Grabovius, with the same prayers as in the first sacrifice. (Veian gate.)

Sixth sacrifice of three lambs to Tefer Iovius, with the same prayers again and supplementary offerings (cakes and the like), also with appropriate prayers and ritual at the libation-trench, and for the sacrificial cup and other vessels and implements. (Same place.)

Seventh sacrifice (three bullocks to Mars Hodius) with the same prayers as in the first sacrifice. (At the Iovian temple?)

• Eighth sacrifice (three bullocks to Hontus Cerrius) with the same prayers again. (Temple (?) of Coredius.)

Purification of the mount. It is provided that any omission shall void the entire ceremony which shall be repeated from the beginning and over the same route.

(b) Introductory ceremonies for the lustration of the people. A curse is laid upon aliens who are to be expelled. The circuit of the people. Auspices as for the lustration of the sacred mount. The priest and two assistants, properly robed and equipped, walk with the victims (bulls) along the augural way to the suburb of Acedonia. The curse upon aliens is repeated. The people of Iguvium are instructed to form companies. The priest and his assistants march round them three times, leading the bulls and carrying the fire. Prayer invoking ill on aliens and blessings on the people of Iguvium.

Sacrifice of three bulls to Cerrus Martius, with the same prayers as those used in the first sacrifice above. (At Fontuli—the sacred springs.)

Sacrifice of three sows to Præstita Cerria (same prayers). Ritual of the black vessels (with prayer invoking misfortune on the aliens) and of the white vessels (with prayer to avert ill from the people of Iguvium). Offerings to Fisovius Sancius with prayers as in the third sacrifice (above).

Sacrifice of three heifers to Torra Cerria (at the Sacred Way), with prayers as in the first sacrifice (above).

An offering is to be made at the place where boars were sacrificed, at Rubinia, and at the Sacred Way. Next prayer first at Rubinia, then again at the Sacred Way, with broken cakes. Prayer to Torra Iovia (repeated three times) in the same words as those used at the end of each circuit.

Sacrificial hunt: pursuit and sacrifice of the heifers.

Regulation that the "magister" shall provide all the victims.

II. Sacrifice of the *lustrum* on behalf of the Brotherhood (omitted from the later version). Offerings to be made in case of unfavourable auspices.

Optional sacrifice of a dog to the infernal deity Hontus.

Annual assembly and sacrifices at the "decurial" festivals of the federated clans (ten in number).

III, IV. Annual ceremonies of the Brotherhood of a more private character. Directions (very obscure and still imperfectly

understood) for sacrifices to Jupiter, Pomonus, Vesuna, and other deities at nightfall (?) on regular bi-monthly (or six-monthly?) occasions.

V. Administrative resolutions of the Brotherhood. The priest shall select the victims and provide everything else necessary for the sacrifices. Statement of fees required for the performance of certain rites. At the Brotherhood's banquet a vote shall be taken by the chief brother or the "quæstor" on the question whether the banquet has been properly arranged and, if not, on the amount of the penalty to be assessed against the priest.

Statement of contributions to be made regularly to the Brotherhood by certain clans, and of the portions of flesh to be assigned in return at the "decurial" festivals.

Before we leave these interesting documents we may observe that they prescribe, among others, ceremonies similar to the Roman beating of the bounds, the Ambarvalia. Perhaps it is mere coincidence that the date of the Roman Ambarvalia and the date of a ceremony of the Roman Church continued to this day at Gubbio, the "elevation of the Ceri," which seems to have certain features in common with the Iguvine lustration, fell within the same month of May. The Iguvine prayers were recited in a whisper (*tagez* "tacitus") and at first they were not even written out in full. The full significance of many of the divine names and epithets is doubtful: *Vofio* is perhaps "hearer of vows," *Tefer* is no doubt connected with burnt offerings, *Tursa* a goddess of dread, *Puprike* (dative singular, epithet of Pomonus) perhaps connected with initiation rites (quasi **Pubidicus*), *Purtupite* the recipient of offerings, and *Hule* an infernal deity like Hontus. The tables further imply a territorial division according to tribes¹ (*trifu*) as well as the larger unit of the city (*tota*). From other sources we learn that the Umbrians reckoned time from noon to noon,² and like the Oscans measured land by the *vor.sus* (equivalent to three and a third Roman *iugera*), and that they called their chief magistrates by the title *maro*³ (a title borrowed from them by the Etruscans). But they also used the title *nero*, which among

¹ Cf. Livy, 31, 2.

² Cf. Whatmough, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 42, 1931, pp. 163 ff. for some other details.

³ Perhaps also Sicel, *maro* is cognate with *mas*, *nero* with ἀ-νήρ.

the Oscans and Sabines indicated high rank either of office or birth. The Oscan chief magistrate was the *meddix* (see more fully, p. 395 below).

Of the Iguvine dialect itself it is not necessary here to say more than that, as compared with more primitive Oscan, it is marked by a number of secondary changes, especially the reduction of diphthongs to single vowels, the loss of certain final consonants, medial and intervocalic rhotacism, and the development of certain peculiar morphological features. It anticipated some Romance changes (for example the sibilization of *k* before front vowels, *ḡesna* like Italian *cena*; the change of gutturals before *t* to *i*, as in *feitu* "facito" like French *fait* from Latin *factum*; and of *l* before dentals to *u*, as in *muta* "multa, penalty," like French *autre* from *alterum*). In general we may say that it is more "broken down" than either Latin or Oscan at the same date. This was almost certainly due to greater and earlier contact with peoples of other speech.

II. UMBRIAN CITIES AND THE ROMANIZATION OF UMBRIA

A long line of towns bordered the route of the Flaminian way through central Umbria—Narnia, Carsulæ, Mevania, Forum Flaminii, Nuceria Camellaria, Forum Sempronii, some of them no doubt older than the construction of that great road in 220 B.C., a feat of engineering which may have borrowed something from Etruscan predecessors. Others are set in the mountain valleys east and west of it, and their numbers indicate relatively great prosperity due to the fertility of those valleys. Iguvium itself occupied a strategic position near the main pass of the Serchio through the Apennines. To the south Assisium was destined to be the birthplace of Propertius, and Sarsina, far to the north among the mountains, gave Rome her greatest writer of comedy. It cannot be said, however, that there is anything in the works of either that they clearly owed to their native land, unless we reckon the *distennite*, *dispenmite* of Plautus as showing a dialectal rather than a popular feature in its *-nn-* for *-nd-*.

Umbria yielded readily to the Romans. Perhaps they and the Umbrians had always been friendly as common foes of the

Etruscans. The Umbrians themselves interfered too little and too late in the Samnite struggles to be of any help to the Samnite tribes—even at the decisive battle of Sentinum (295 B.C.) fought in their own territory, three years after the foundation of the colony of Narnia. In 200 B.C. the “ager Gallicus” was made available to them—partly because of prevailing economic conditions, partly because they had not given Hannibal any material assistance. Finally in the Social War they were again first slow to help the confederates, and then eager to make peace. Here, as we saw above, the work of fusing peoples of the most diverse origins, culture, and speech into one, that prepared the way for repeating the same process throughout Italy, already had been begun.

12. THE ADRIATIC COAST

In the extreme north-eastern corner of Umbria is an early iron age settlement of the greatest interest and importance. Here we find linguistic and material remains together in the same cemetery, absolutely contemporaneous. It is all the more to be regretted that the inscriptions themselves are still not translated. They can be read¹ without difficulty, and their script, of Etruscan rather than of direct Greek derivation, is so finished as to suggest a later date for them than the archæological evidence admits. But their dialect is not Etruscan. Almost every possible hypothesis has been advanced to account for it, but only two can be said to be worthy of serious consideration. The theories propounding Italic (“Umbrian”) or Keltic relationship have commended themselves to no one familiar with either Italic or Keltic, and there is nothing in the other objects discovered at the same time as these inscriptions to lend support to such fantasies. The same objection confronts those who seek to explain them as Etruscan—to account for one unknown dialect by comparison with another! But in fact it is only necessary to compare them with any Etruscan document of any length to disprove this suggestion. Finally they are different, both in script and, it would seem, in dialect from the southern “East-Italic” or so-called “Old-Sabellic” inscriptions found in Picenum proper. Either, therefore, these northern “East-Italic” inscriptions are the handiwork

¹ *Præ-Italic Dialects* II, nos 342-346; only 343 f. are actually from Novilara, but 345 (from Fano) is of precisely the same type.

of people living in Italy, the "Picenes," who were long established there, or else of settlers from across the Adriatic. For the archæological evidence compels us to choose between these two alternatives; and the only outside influences which it reveals are Illyrian or Bosnian, certainly not directly with Greece. Such Greek influence as it shows is indirect, and came through southern Italy. Now it is difficult entirely to deny an "Indo-European" character¹ to the dialect of the Novilara group of inscriptions—some words, taken alone, would be claimed at once as Greek. On the other hand, if pure Indo-European, then the method of linguistic analysis should be able to extract the meaning, which hitherto it has been unable to do. Again, while not Etruscan, they do contain a few forms reminiscent of Etruscan or Lemnian. It is tempting, therefore, to propound the hypothesis that these inscriptions represent, as the archæological evidence would suggest, a late and isolated survival of the speech of the neolithic inhabitants of Italy, a mere outcrop of that ancient stratum of Mediterranean speech to which any indigenous tongue in Italy may be expected to belong and to which Kretschmer has daringly assigned a dialect which he attributes to the Rasenna; but it might well belong to a "proto-Indo-European" stratum of speech. We have already hinted the possible affiliation of Ligurian to the same linguistic stock. It is noteworthy, then, that the Novilaran culture has marked affinities with the Golaseccan and Comacine. The other possible hypothesis is that the Novilara inscriptions represent Illyrian immigrant merchants or seamen, perhaps pirates such as those depicted on the sculptured scene on the back of one of these stelæ. If so it would appear to be an Illyrian dialect that had been exposed also to some Greek influence. Between these two alternatives it is hardly possible



FIG. 69.—Scene on Back of Inscribed Stone from Novilara.

¹ *Præ-Italic Dialects*, ii, pp. 557 f.

as yet to decide; perhaps the second at present holds the field, but it is not yet proved, while the first is not disproved.

13. THE "PICENES" IN UMBRIA

That part of the "Picene" culture which is found at Novilara and elsewhere in Umbria may be described here. The Novilara graves are inhumation graves like those of Picenum proper.

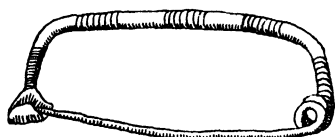


FIG. 70.—Bronze Bow Fibula (Novilara).

The bodies were buried in their clothes and with their ornaments (the women), or military equipment (the men), usually in a contracted position, in simple graves cut in the ground. In date they range, as is proved convincingly by a series of fibulæ, including the "spectacle" fibula, which is confined to eastern and southern Italy, between about 800 and 650 B.C.—apart that is from a few exceptional graves containing material of more archaic character. Thus

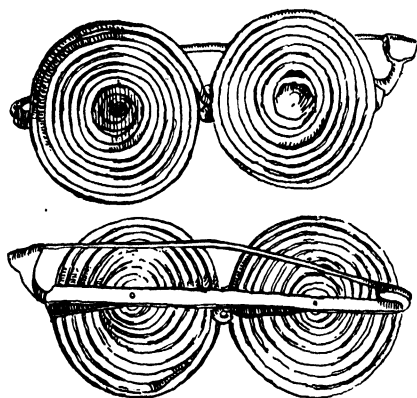


FIG. 71.—Bronze Spectacle Fibula.

they correspond in general to the Second Benacci burials at Bologna. The quantities of amber and glass-paste found at Novilara suggest an active commerce of the ninth century, perhaps along the head of the Adriatic in the direction of Histria. In any event the outer associations of Novilara, as of the other Picene settlements are directed south and east, not north

or west. As compared with Bolognese material, the Novilaran is quite alien and individual. Some slight Etruscan and Bolognese influence may be admitted in a few imported objects but no constant or lasting intercourse existed between the Umbrian coast

and the Villanovans or Etruscans. The warlike Picenes wore helmets of Histrian or Greek patterns and wielded swords and daggers imported from the Balkans or of Hallstatt ancestry. Their decorated stelæ show spiral ornament that finds parallels also in Histria. These (including the inscribed ones) belong to the later graves and are dated (on the archæological evidence) *c.* 700-650 B.C. Very striking is the abundance of chain-work in the women's ornaments, reminiscent most of all of the Comacines; while imported pottery suggests Daunian analogies. It is not suggested that the chain-work was of Comacine origin—rather the reverse, that it may have been Picene and reached the western lakes via the northern Adriatic and then by a land-route north of the



FIG. 72.—Picene Bronze Pendant of Chain-work.



FIG. 73.—Painted Pottery Jar of Apulian Type (Novilara).

Po, unless indeed a common Balkan or Histrian centre supplied both Comacines and Novilarans.

At Terni again in Umbria, but inland on the Nera, the Picenes appear at an earlier date contemporaneous with the pre-Benacci and first Benacci periods—that is at a date as remote as the

"southern Villanovan" occupation of the site of Rome. In fact in both places cremating Villanovans and inhuming peoples lived side by side for a time. But at Terni the former soon died out and the Picenes, whose connexions are with the east coast,

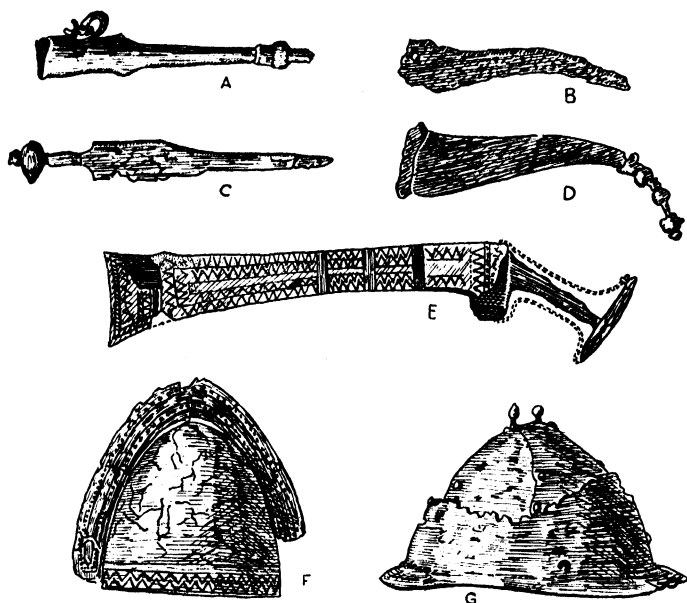


FIG. 74.—Picene Weapons and Helmets.

were left in possession. The one peculiar feature of the Terni graves is the ring of stones that surrounds some of the burials, but it is hardly possible to connect these directly with the same phenomenon at Golasecca.

14. ETRUSCANS AND GAULS IN UMBRIA

Two peoples who have left remains in Umbria remain to be discussed briefly. The Etruscans had invaded the districts east as well as north of the Apennines by the sixth century. Perugia, for example, became entirely Etruscan and very many Etruscan tombs have been opened there and in the neighbourhood, and in the end the "Umbrians" were mastered by the Etruscans.

Montefortino and Sarsina, however, have yielded Gaulish graves. The former is near Arcevia in what was the territory of the Senones, the latter¹ in the mountain fastnesses of northern Umbria, but not far outside that territory. Montefortino is especially interesting inasmuch as some of the oldest Keltic material discovered in Italy has been found there. Its Gallic graves (inhumation) are rectangular and stone-lined, and the dead buried with their weapons and other treasures, covered with earth and the grave marked by a stone. The objects show that these Gauls had borrowed freely of the Etruscans and even, through them, from the Greeks—red-figured Attic vases appear commonly. But the weapons alone leave no doubt that the dead buried in these graves were Keltic. It is curious, nevertheless, that the characteristic La Tène fibula is scarce. Besides at Montefortino other Gallic cemeteries have come to light in the same district near San Vito, Urbania, and elsewhere. Many of these contained gold and silver objects both of Gallic and Etruscan character—perhaps some of the booty carried off by Brennus after the sack of Rome, or if not taken from Rome itself then from some of the many cities of Etruria and Latium which the Gauls had looted in their heyday.

Additional references:—

- Ducati, P., *La stula della Certosa*, Bologna, 1923 (pp. 23-94 in *Memorie d. R. Acc. delle Sc. dell' Ist. di Bologna*, Cl. di Sc. mor., Ser. II, tom. v-viii, 1920-23, Sez. di Sc. stor.-filol. e Sez. di Sc. giurid.).
- Grenier, A., *Bologne villanovienne et étrusque*, Paris, 1912 (*Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, fasc. 106).
- Solari, A., *L'Unità storica dell' Aemilia*, in *Athenæum* (Pavia), 10, 1932, pp. 40 ff., and in *Bull. del Museo dell' Imp. rom.*, 2, 1931 (publ. 1932), pp. 2 ff. (App. to *Bull. Comm. arch. comunale di Roma*).

¹ For the Gauls at Sarsina see von Duhn, *Graberkunde*, 1, pp. 188 f.

CHAPTER IX

ETRURIA AND THE FALISCANS

I. INTRODUCTORY

DURING the last decade there has been aroused great interest in the Etruscans, accompanied by a greatly increased output of articles, monographs, and books. This material is very unequal in value—some of it is quite worthless, especially on the linguistic side, for example, two recent and widely advertised claims to have interpreted the Etruscan language. A little experience will usually suffice to enable the critical reader to judge for himself the true merits of much of this writing and the conjectural nature of the many conflicting theories and hypotheses that are so freely advanced. In the bibliographical notes appended to this chapter merely a selection is given, indicating a few of the more important works, with the help of which the student may refer to the rest according to his needs, after learning to steer himself before embarking on this flood of “Etruscology”.

2. BOUNDARIES

The seventh *regio* of Augustus, Etruria, adjoined Liguria on the north, the river Magra being the dividing line; it was conterminous with Umbria on the east, and with Latium on the south, across the river Tiber; and it was washed by the Tyrrhenian Sea on the west. It is a mistake to think of the whole of this area as occupied, at any time of its history, by a population of solely Etruscan character, except in the broadest sense of the term. If by Etruscan, and in the interests of scientific accuracy some precise definition is necessary, we mean those people, and only those to whom the Etruscan language and the Tuscan culture which suddenly appear on the *west coast* of Etruria about 850 B.C. were

proper, then it is certain that only a small percentage of the population of Etruria in 400 B.C., when both language and culture were diffused over the whole of Etruria, and had until a short time before been planted temporarily in many other parts of Italy, are entitled to be called Etruscan. It is also more than probable that at the date at which the genuine Etruscan population reached its greatest numbers, whatever that date may have been, it constituted a small minority. We must think of these Etruscans as a powerful body of overlords, at least in Etruria, who made themselves masters of western Italy, much as the *āryās*¹ mastered northern India and afterwards mingled with the rest of the population, even developing something rather like the caste-system of India. At least there are indications of a priestly warrior-caste. The position of the Etruscans has been also well compared with that of the Normans in England or Sicily. In Etruria itself in the historic period the Faliscans in the south, and in prehistoric times "southern Villanovans," preceded Tuscans even in the coastal districts, not to mention inland sites, from near Florence and Volterra in the north to Falerii and Narce in the south.

3. THE SEQUENCE OF CIVILIZATIONS IN ETRURIA

In view of the doubts which still surround the classification of the Etruscan language, it is important to bear in mind the fairly simple sequence of peoples and civilizations that appear in Etruria from remote times to the first appearance of the Etruscan inscriptions in the eighth century. From that date the language survived until Augustan times—it is hinted that Claudius may have had a knowledge of it.² But obviously the latest Etruscan inscriptions are one in language with the oldest, and we need only consider what comes before the beginning of the seventh century. We have already seen (Chapter III) that the palæolithic period may be discounted; but that a very few scattered sites³ of the neolithic, chalcolithic, and full bronze ages have come to light. It may be said at once that these are so few and so insignificant

¹ That is "Aryans" (lit. "masters, nobles"), nom. plu. masc. The Sanskrit form (Ved. also *āryāsas*) is used in order to avoid the various misleading connotations with which "Aryans" has become charged in English.

² Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*, 5.

³ Cf. von Duhn, *Italische Gräberkunde*, 1, pp. 24 ff.

that they lend no real support to the theory that would regard the Etruscans or their speech as descended from neolithic peoples in Etruria. There is no trace of the survival of such neolithic peoples in Etruria such as there is in Picenum. That the Etruscans practised inhumation as well as cremation is indubitable. But it does not prove that they must have been descended from the neolithic inhuming peoples—as if these were the only inhabitants of the ancient world who inhumed their dead! It points indeed to a mixture of peoples who practised different rites, and probably also to the inter-marriage of such peoples. But fortunately the actual details of the graves prove something more. The normal rite of the Etruscans was inhumation; when both rites appear side by side in the same Etruscan graves (as at Chiusi), the rite of cremation must have been taken from the “southern Villanovans” who practised nothing else and whose cremation graves are distributed all over Etruria from a date earlier than the inhumation graves of the iron age, indeed from the very beginning of the early iron age. At Vetulonia, for example, we find the pure “southern Villanovans,” in occupation (Poggio alla Guardia) *before* the people who not only inhumed (as well as cremated) their dead, but who also constructed tombs of a type *hitherto unknown* in Italy (Circolo degli Ulivastri, Circolo del Monile d’argento, second Circle of Le Pellicie, Tomba delle tre Navicelle, the five Franchetta graves, the tomb of the Lictor, the circle of Le Mighiarine, and the trench graves of La Pietrera). This is a totally different situation from what we find in the Forum at Rome, where the inhumation graves are unquestionably much older. It is also a totally different situation from what we find in Picenum, where not only did inhumation always persist, but where the entire culture of inhuming people who lived there in the early iron age is absolutely different from that of the inhuming and cremating Tuscans of the same period; and different from that at Terni, where inhumation preceded cremation. Thus in the iron age the relative chronology of the burial rites in Etruria is first the cremation rite of the “southern Villanovans,” then the inhumation rite, and last the mixed (cremation and inhumation) rites of the Tuscans. The sparse and fragmentary inhabitants of neolithic Etruria, who preceded the Etruscans by many centuries, unquestionably had

buried their dead. But they were overrun and absorbed by the northern invaders whom we call "Villanovans" and the attempt to derive the inhumation burials of the eighth and seventh century Tuscans from the neolithic inhabitants of Italy involves very great distortion of the evidence.

4. THE SOUTHERN VILLANOVANS

It is during a period corresponding to Benacci I and about half of Benacci II that the "southern Villanovans" of Etruria

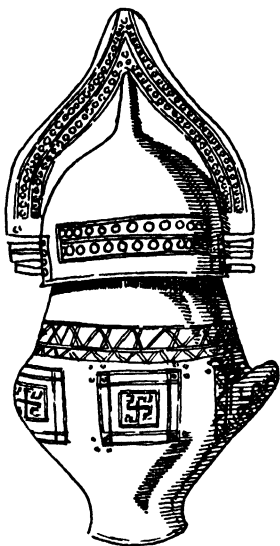


FIG. 75.—Pottery Ossuary Covered with Bronze Helmet (Corneto).

were wholly independent. The burials are in the standard Villanovan type of ossuary, covered with an inverted bowl, and placed in a hole dug in the ground for it. At

Corneto (or Tarquinia, the ancient Tarquinii), instead of the simple pit, a stone cylinder with a covering piece was sometimes

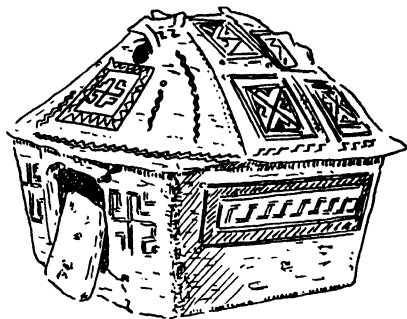


FIG. 76.—Etruscan Hut-Urn.



FIG. 77.—Imported Amphora found at Corneto.

prepared and let into the pit to serve as a receptacle for the ossuary. Another variation which appears in Etruria is the use of a helmet, made of bronze or of pottery, instead of the bowl with which to cover the ossuary. Yet a third contrast, as compared with the burials of the "northern Villanovans," is the "hut-urn," that is an ossuary (of pottery) fashioned to resemble a hut, usually round or elliptical, less frequently rectangular as at Selciatello (the earliest dated example, accompanied by other



FIG. 78.—Iron Dagger with Bronze Sheath (Corneto)

material of very archaic character such as quadrangular "razors" of bronze age type). Even at this early date there is some indication of foreign influence in the forms of the pottery, red ware made on the wheel and kiln-burnt, and a novel type of sword or dagger of bronze or iron enclosed in a bronze sheath ornamented with geometrical patterns. Most striking of all, perhaps, is the appearance of gold, if only in scraps of gold wire or sheet gold.

5. CHRONOLOGY

Looking at these "southern Villanovans" from the Bolognese point of view, we must also observe that the Arnoaldi type of pottery never appears among them, and the antennæ-sword very rarely. Again the repoussé bronze work is, so far as present evidence goes, later in Etruria than it is north of the Apennines, and therefore, we may assume, independent of southern styles. On the other hand, the same kind of silver filigree work in the latest Villanovan graves as in the earliest Etruscan graves (at Monterozzi and Vetulonia respectively) marks the point when the new Etruscan culture begins to appear together with inhumation and with gold and silver jewelry, not to mention scarabs either genuine Egyptian or Egyptianizing. Especially instructive, however, at Vetulonia is the way in which the Villanovan pit-graves adjoin, and yet are kept distinct from those of the early Etruscans of somewhat later date, which are dis-

tinguished also by their grouping in sets, surrounded by blocks of stone. At Bisenzio also the two civilizations overlap. Not only does painted geometrical ware appear, but the characteristic Villanovan ossuary is gradually ceasing to be used and about to disappear completely. Of first importance is the fact that in one of the Bisenzio cemeteries inhumation graves were cut in ground that had previously been used for cremation burials which were thus disturbed. It is, therefore, absolutely certain which are the earlier of the two. Perhaps mention should be made here of the "dolio" or "zero" burials—that is the use of a great earthenware jar in which the ossuary was placed, since these are especially common among the "southern Villanovans," though not unknown also north of the Apennines; and of the use of oval or round pots in the southern parts of Etruria, in the neighbourhood of Falerii and Narce, covered with a bronze cap or pottery bowl, instead of the usual Villanovan biconical ossuary and inverted bowl.

6. THE ARRIVAL OF THE ETRUSCANS

About the middle of the ninth century, however, a civilization of a type totally different from anything we have yet seen in Italy begins to appear among the "southern Villanovans" of Etruria. This civilization is unquestionably of foreign origin, as would be proved (if there were any doubt) from its first appearance at coastal sites such as Populonia, Vetulonia, and Tarquinia (Corneto, the ancient Tarquinii), whence it makes its way inland, reaching the inland Chiusi and Perugia, for example, later and in a modified form. There is also no question that it is a civilization of a semi-Oriental character, orientalizing rather than Oriental, and derived ultimately from some focus which seems to have been—on the archaeological evidence alone—in Asia Minor, or at least at some point between the Hellespont and northern Syria. It shows features partly of Egyptian origin, partly of Mesopotamian origin, neither received immediately but rather at second or perhaps even at third hand, as well as some others more directly suggestive of Asia Minor itself. We may leave aside for the moment the question whether this new culture is to be connected with the Etruscan language. But

we may safely reject the suggestion that this orientalizing art and civilization reached the west coast of Italy in the ordinary course of trade without any considerable immigration or settlement. It has, indeed, been urged that the Phœnician aspect which it wears is due to the Phœnician trade that was being carried on so extensively and vigorously in the Mediterranean about this time. Here it is enough to point out that, if so, then it is astonishing that there is no trace of Phœnician settlements or even of Phœnician trading posts such as we find in Sicily and Sardinia¹ and the smaller islands. The new civilization on the coast of Etruria cannot be ascribed to the Phœnicians. Only one Phœnician inscription has been found in Italy and it was found at Præneste and on an imported object (see p. 45 above) in a tomb which does indeed show many of the features which we associate with the tombs of Etruria proper, but is not quite so old as the oldest there; contrast with this one, over forty inscriptions from the islands. To suppose that the Greeks² were in any way responsible for the introduction of the new civilization is preposterous—a complete reversal of the chronological sequence. It is not before *c.* 650 B.C. that there is any noteworthy Greek strain in any kind of Etruscan work—far later than the first appearance of the foreign element in western Etruria. Here again there is also the same contrast in the epigraphical evidence. There are six hundred Greek inscriptions from Sicily, some of them quite early and a few even from Sardinia (p. 113 above), but less than twenty from Etruria³ and those all very late. Contrast with this small number the thousands of Etruscan inscriptions, mostly from Etruria proper, and the oldest of them from the eighth century orientalizing graves of Vetulonia.

¹ See Kahrstedt, U, *Klio*, 12, 1912, pp. 461 ff., who makes it clear that Campania was more susceptible to Phœnician influence through trade than Etruria, and over a longer period.

² Yet the suggestion that the external (i.e. non-Italian) features of Etruscan civilization "are to be explained by contacts developed in the normal course of trade, first with the Phœnicians later with the Greeks," has been made in an authoritative work published as recently as 1928. It is as false as the assertion that the Etruscan alphabet was learnt "from the colonists of Cumæ" or "from Campania".

³ *JG*, 14, 1-599 (Sicily), 2256-2274 (Etruria)

7. THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

With these preliminary observations in mind we may now turn to a fuller consideration of the archæological evidence and then glance at the linguistic puzzle, a few pieces of which (out of who knows how many?) seem to have been, as we may now at least hope, rightly fitted together. As we have already seen

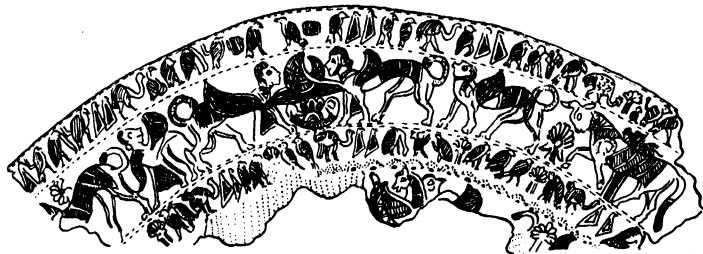


FIG. 79.—Detail of Silver Cup from Vetulonia.

some sites were occupied continuously from Villanovan to Etruscan times. Such a site is Vetulonia, which three thousand years ago was reached by the waters of an open bay. The Roman tradition ¹ of its importance as an Etruscan city is amply borne out by the large number of tombs discovered there. Even

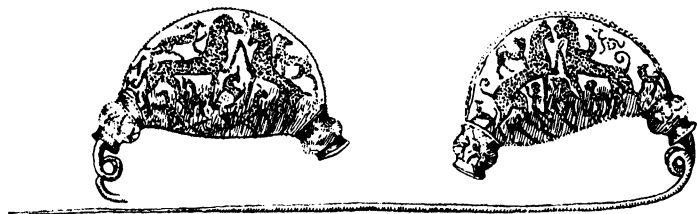


FIG. 80.—Gold Fibula with Granulated Ornament (Vetulonia).

in some of the Villanovan graves peculiar features, such as the stone circles, appear, and also some foreign elements, above all the greatly increased material wealth. In fact one of the outstanding characteristics of many Etruscan graves, including some very early ones, is the profusion of gold and silver ornaments of

¹ Sil. Ital., 8, 483-485; *fasces* and *securis* were actually found by Falchi at Vetulonia.

most elaborate styles and of a complicated and difficult technique, which has been shown to be, at Vetulonia at least, of independent origin and development, namely granulation. Among the novel

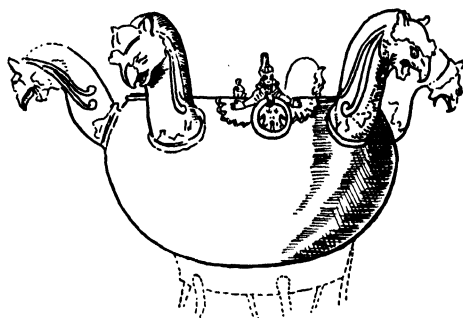


FIG. 81.—Bronze Cauldron, Ornamented with Heads of Griffins (Vetulonia).

objects which appear are Egyptian scarabs bearing ornamental hieroglyphics. It was pointed out above that (together with these new features) inhumation occurs in graves of a variety of type—plain trenches, tumuli, and circle-

graves. Images of Egyptian deities, Mut and Bes, have turned up in two or three graves and new decorative motives, winged animals, griffins, the ostrich,¹ the ibis, are common. So, too, are the fragments

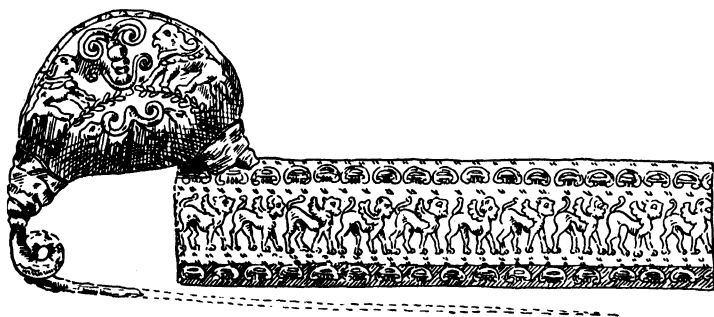


FIG. 82.—Gold Fibula from Vetulonia.

of chariots, especially the iron wheels—a distinct novelty. Again, we must note the use of the wheel for making the pottery of the peculiar Etruscan kind known as *bucchero*, a black ware produced by a special process requiring the addition of mag-

¹ A broken ostrich egg was found in one of the Vetulonian burial circles.

nesium if it was not already present in the clay before baking in the kiln at a low temperature. In the human figure cast in the round used to ornament the top of a candelabrum from the Acquastrini tomb may be recognized the beginnings of Etruscan statuary, just as later on, in the masks and so-called "Canopic" jars of Chiusi may be seen the beginnings of Etruscan portraiture. It is well to point out that the best archæological opinion is against regarding most of the objects from these early Etruscan tombs, with their orientalizing art, as imported, but insists on regarding them as of local workmanship (with a long Oriental tradition behind it no doubt), and therefore presumably as representing the workmanship of Oriental, that is near-Asiatic, craftsmen at first, but rapidly developing into a local school. These Vetulonian graves are also earlier than any Greek influence, as is shown by the complete absence of Greek vases, the proto-Corinthian and Attic black-figured vases such as appear after about 650 B.C.

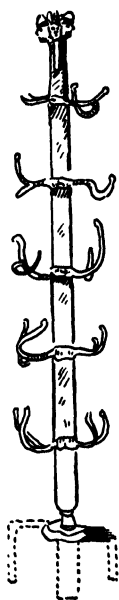


FIG. 83.—
Bronze
Candelabrum
(Vetulonia).

8. ETRUSCAN GRAVES AND THEIR CONTENTS

Already by 700 B.C., then, there are indications of the elaborate sepulchral architecture of the Etruscans¹ in the great tumuli with their corridors and chambers, their rudimentary arches and vaults, tholos or domed structures not unlike the much earlier beehive tombs of Mycenæ. A hundred years later the tombs of the wealthy are practically underground dwellings for the dead, attempts to reproduce the appearance of the contemporary abodes of the living. As contrasted with Vetulonia, where it seems that for some reason the Etruscan occupation ceased before Greek contacts began, at least if the extensive

¹ It is impossible here to enter into the vexed question of the chronology of the Regolini-Galassi, Bernardini, and Barberini tombs of Cære and Præneste. But Randall-MacIver's well-reasoned argument for a date not much later than the Vetulonian (*Villanovans and Early Etruscans*, pp. 228 ff.) seems to the present writer to hold the field.

excavations there tell us the whole story of Vetulonia, other sites show the beginning and then the full tide of Greek influence—Corneto, Vetralla, and Bisenzio for example. In some of the frescoes of Corneto and other sites this Greek influence is unmistakable. But perhaps the most important object discovered there is the faience vase bearing the cartouch of the Egyptian king Bokenranef (*Græce* Bocchoris), which must have been manufactured about 730 B.C., no matter whenever the tombs in which it was discovered may have been con-



FIG. 84.—Fresco in Etruscan Tomb at Corneto.

structed—probably not much later, or whether or not it was actually made in Egypt. Thus it serves to establish, within fairly narrow limits, the dates of other objects, especially the pottery and jewelry, discovered with it. Again in the imported geometric pottery of Bisenzio and elsewhere, and in local imitations of it, Greek influence is manifest. It seems, therefore, that some sort of contact between the Greek world and the west coast of Italy, north of the Tiber, had begun by the eighth century, and that the oldest phase of this influence may



FIG. 85.—The Bocchoris Vase (Corneto).



FIG. 86.—Dipylon Style Vase from Bisenzio.

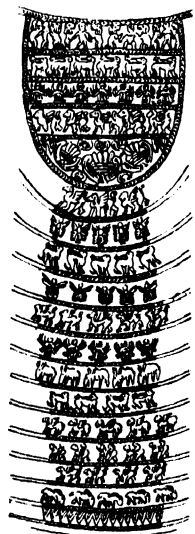
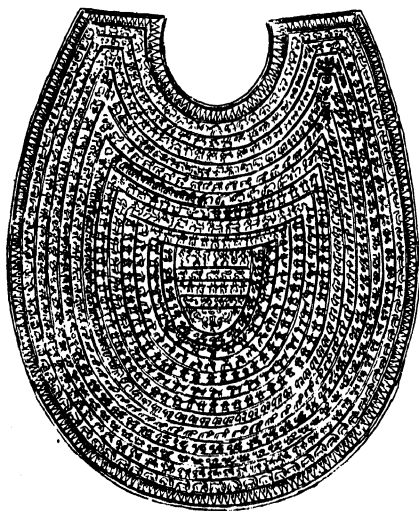


FIG. 87.—Gold Ornament (Pectoral) from Regolini-Galassi Tomb (Cære).

even be anterior to the foundation of Cumæ.¹ A century later the abundance of imports of "proto-Corinthian" style shows how vigorous the intercourse had become. No account of the period represented by the early Etruscan tombs would be complete without mention of the carved ivories of Marsiliana d'Albegna, or of the famous terra-cotta statuary of Veii, though neither the ivories nor the terra-cottas, important and interesting in themselves, modify in any way the picture we have formed of the flooding of western Italy, from the Tiber to the Arno and from the sea to the Apennines, by this new and brilliant civilization of near-Asiatic derivation, with Greek influence in its later phases, which before 600 B.C. was fast approaching the great height that it was to attain during the next hundred years. The carved ivories have their analogues in similar objects, in part showing marked Egyptian influence, found in the Regolini-Galassi tombs

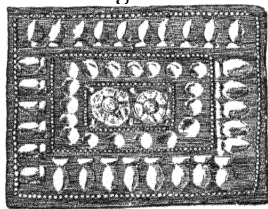


FIG. 88.—Gold Plaque from Corneto.

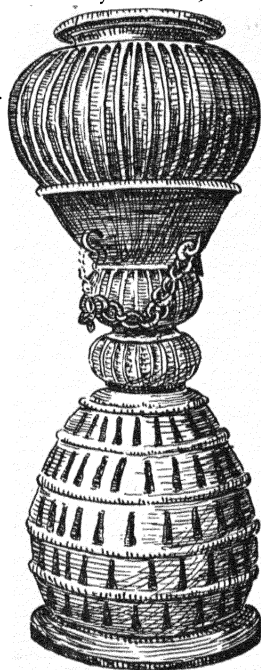


FIG. 89.—Stand and Vase of Red Ware (Corneto).

at Cære and in the Bernardini and Barberini tombs at Præneste,—more famous perhaps for their imported silver bowls with scenes of Oriental life and landscape, and for the two inscribed gold fibulæ² one of which bears the early Latin or Latinian inscription *Manios med fbebhaked Numasioi*

¹ See Randall-MacIver, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

² The reader should be warned that there is strong probability but no proof that the *Manios*-fibula actually belongs to the Bernardini tomb.

referred to above (p. 98), the other, which is of the same general type, an Etruscan inscription. The terra-cottas of Veii have their place, and it is a proud one, in the history of Etruscan art. But they contribute nothing to the elucidation of Etruscan origins.

Inland sites are in general later than the coastal sites; Orvieto in particular seems never to have been occupied by palæo-Etruscans such as we find at Vetulonia, and Chiusi,



FIG. 90.—Silver Bowl from Bernardini Tomb (Præneste).

though there are quite ancient remains there, evidently represents a mixture of Villanovan and Etruscan elements. In due course both places participate in the intercourse, at second-hand, with Greece and the Ægean. But at Volterra and Populonia there is so far no evidence forthcoming to show the nature of the occupation of those sites between Villanovan times and the beginning of this Greek influence. Again Perugia has Etruscan evidence only of later date. Cortona is said to be the only one

among the northern inland cities to show any traces, and those not considerable, of an Etruscan settlement as old as that of Vetulonia.

There can be no doubt that the mineral wealth of Etruria and of the neighbouring island of Elba, with its rich stores of iron ore, was a determining factor in the great prosperity revealed by the Etruscan civilization of the eighth and following centuries. While it lasted this civilization made important contributions to the life of the peninsula. In warfare, seamanship, and in the outer ceremonial at least of religion and administration, some of their contributions were lasting. As we have seen they introduced the chariot—there is a splendid specimen from Monteleone now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York; their navy was a stout support to that of Carthage and a threat to Greek security in southern Italy—until the great defeat at Cumæ in 474 B.C. after its ally had been defeated at Himera six years earlier. The word for wine (*uinum*) in all the Italic idioms¹ is found also in Etruscan. It is probably Mediterranean in origin, not Indo-European, and the true cultivated grape-vine may have been introduced into Italy by the Etruscans.



FIG. 91.—Statue of Apollo (Veii).

From their first rudimentary styles the Etruscans developed an architecture, the remains of which in more than one Etruscan city, still survive to show the skill of their builders, not only great gateways and walls, but also the masonry, galleries, chambers,

¹ Sicel, Lepontic, Rætic, and the Ital. dialects (Fal., Volsc., Osc., Umb.) as well as Latin have *uino-*; there is no trace in Italy of a diphthongal form corresponding to Greek *Φωνο-*. The Latin change of *oi* to *i* after *u* is Latin only (and disputed even for Latin).

and circles of their burial-places. The early temple of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva at Rome was actually Etruscan work. In painting they derived much from the Greeks, but in sculpture and the plastic arts there are clearer traces of an independent tradition. Every one will recall the famous wolf of the Capitol in Rome, properly Etruscan work, and the chimæra and the statue of the orator in the Archæological Museum in Florence, as well as the numerous recumbent figures which adorn the finer sarcophagi. Innumerable other objects may be found

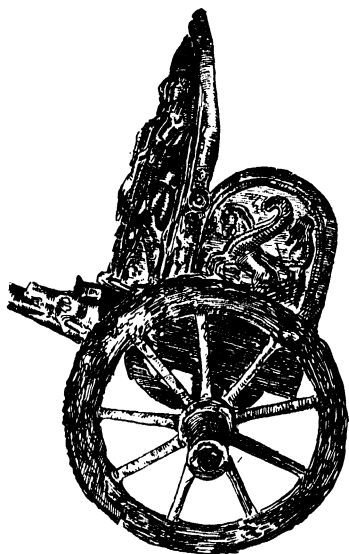


FIG. 92.—Etruscan Chariot from Monteleone.



FIG. 93.—Etruscan Sarcophagus (Perugia).

illustrated in the treatises on Etruscan art mentioned in the bibliographical note to this chapter. Here we must be content to point out that when every possible deduction has been made on account of the Ionic Greeks, there remains at the bottom something of the native Etruscan art that had begun its own development independently of Greece. Finally, in religion the whole system of divination if nothing else, which came to play an important part in Roman practice, was taken over bodily

from the Etruscans, with whom at least part of it was a direct inheritance from Mesopotamia.

9. THE ETRUSCAN LANGUAGE

Something will be said in a later chapter of the abortive attempts at confederation among the Etruscans which at times bade fair to make a united Italy. Here we turn now to a consideration of the language in the hope of showing to which, if any, of the cultural strata in the sequence we have just reviewed it belongs. The reader will observe that so far all assumption of any such connexion has been studiously avoided; and it may be admitted at the outset that nothing more than a tentative solution of this question is possible or can be possible until the language is completely interpreted. There is no difficulty concerning the decipherment of the Etruscan inscriptions, since, as we saw in Chapter IV, they are written in an alphabet which is ultimately Greek.¹ This Etruscan alphabet, despite some local variations, is, moreover, practically uniform wherever it appears, so that the problem is entirely one of linguistic analysis. Comparison with other languages, ancient and modern, has hitherto proved unsuccessful; that is to say, there is not yet known and understood any language, to which Etruscan can be shown to be related. If, as is conjectured, such a language was once spoken in the near east, probably in Asia Minor itself, either that language was not written, or, if it was, its records still remain to be discovered, or at least to be interpreted. Again, any such language, like Etruscan itself, would seem to have died out without having any medieval or modern representative. The "combinatory" method of interpretation, that is of observing the external associations in which a particular word occurs or re-occurs (for example *persu* "persona" written adjoining two masked figures; or *avils* on tombstones accompanied by a numeral and evidently meaning "ætatis" or "natus," i.e. "aged" so many years), is limited in scope, and from the nature of our material not likely to yield much in addition to what has already been won. The number of Etruscan words explained in ancient authors is dis-

¹ There is one non-Greek symbol, ϕ or 8 (ρ), which is also Lydian, probably though not certainly, with the same value.

appointingly small. We are left, therefore, with the hope that future excavations will some day give us a bilingual inscription of some length—and there is no reason why in frontier-districts this should not happen. Once the language is translated it is possible that we may obtain some definite information as to Etruscan origins; and whenever any of the still unsolved documents of Asia Minor and the *Ægean*, for example the Hittite hieroglyphics¹ or the Minoan pictographs and other scripts, are deciphered, we may find in them a language affiliated to Etruscan as closely as the Lemnian (alphabetic) text, even though translation be as far away as ever. But, to repeat, one thing is certain: Etruscan is not an Indo-European language. If it had been, by now we should have been able to interpret it with some confidence, just as the recently discovered Indo-European languages of Asia Minor and Turkestan are being interpreted without the help of traditional comment or glossary. The will-o'-the-wisp of comparison with Indo-European languages has been pursued on account of a totally different reason from that of true kinship, but a quite futile reason, namely, the borrowing and influence and counter-influence which operated between Etruscan and neighbouring languages in Italy. There are clear traces of "Umbrian" influence on Etruscan (particularly in proper names), of Etruscan influence in neighbouring Italic dialects (especially before the sixth century), and of Latin influence on Etruscan and of Etruscan influence on Latin (especially between the sixth and the second centuries). But it is true that, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus asserted,² Etruscan is fundamentally distinct from all the other languages of ancient Italy known to him—and we may add, known to us.

Of the Etruscan inscriptions, even if certain strongly Etruscanizing Latin, Prænentine, and Faliscan be included, some eighty per cent are mere tombstone inscriptions consisting of little more than proper names, and of the rest not many are linguistically of great importance either; for even the longer texts, like the Magliano lead, the *pulena*-roll from Tarquinia, the clay tablet from Santa Maria di Capua, the "Cippus Perusinus" and above all the "liber linteus" (or a fragment of it) discovered as

¹ Recently it has been announced that the Hittite hieroglyphics are being read.

² I, 30.

part of an Egyptian mummy-wrapping in the Zagreb Museum,¹ hardly give us more than a thousand words when repetitions are deducted. In date these documents taken all together range from the eighth century² to the last century of the Roman republic, but the vast majority of the inscriptions fall within the third century. As to locality there are not very many Etruscan inscriptions (other than those on portable objects generally grouped together as "instrumenta") that have been found outside Etruria and the "ager Faliscus". Now granted that no translation of any long passage of Etruscan that is acceptable to all students of the language is yet possible, still it is possible to analyse the contents of these documents, close on ten thousand in all, and when the *corpus* of Etruscan inscriptions, now approaching completion, is furnished with indices, it will be possible to survey the Etruscan vocabulary as a whole and to see what conclusions may be safely reached now and what correspondences, if any, with other linguistic remains in the Mediterranean basin may be established. Something has already been done in this direction, and in fact the only reasonable hypothesis³ that has yet been framed, after many wild and untenable ones, to explain Etruscan is based upon the inferences drawn from a study of Etruscan itself conducted in this way.

10. THEORIES AS TO ITS SOURCE

So long as the interpretation of the language remains the crux of the whole problem, obviously not much light can be thrown by the linguistic record as such. But what it does already tell us it must be taken into account. Let us observe, then, once more: (1) that the oldest Etruscan inscriptions that we have were found at Vetulonia, on the west coast, together

¹ See for these texts, *C.I.E.* 5237; *Abb. d. Bay. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, Ph. Hist. Klasse, 25, 4, 1911, pp. 20 ff., or now (1936) *C.I.E.* 5430, *Rhein. Museum*, 55, 1900, pp. 1 ff.; *C.I.E.* 4538, and *C.I.E.* Suppl., fasc. i respectively.

² The inscription *ajuteleš feluskeš*, etc., at Vetulonia (see p. 97 above)

³ The observations of many different scholars, notably of Herbig and Kretschmer, have led to this hypothesis. Their findings are now most easily accessible in Schachermeyr, F., *Etruskische Frühgeschichte*, Berlin, 1929, pp. 233 ff., where results, hitherto available only in many scattered publications, are assembled. Taken all together their united effect is weighty, and, in the judgment of the present writer, convincing.

with some of the oldest remains of a new civilization of orientalizing character ; and (2) that of the two alternative possibilities, Indo-European or non-Indo-European, the latter is proved for Etruscan. Next we must ask, was Etruscan, being non-Indo-European, (a) spoken before, or (b) spoken only after that orientalizing civilization was introduced ? There are several possibilities in either case, but only one of them, as we shall shortly see, at all likely so far as we can now tell. Thus (a) in addition to (i) the neolithic people, we have also to consider (ii) the invaders from the north of the bronze and early iron ages ; and (b), besides (iii) the authors of the orientalizing culture, from whom the builders of the later chamber-tombs cannot be separated, there is (iv) the manifest Hellenic contribution to Etruscan art. But this last is mentioned only to be ruled out at once. It would be ruled out by chronological considerations alone even if it were not absurd in itself. Let us take the other possible correlations one by one. (1) Is Etruscan the language of survivors of the neolithic population of Italy ? Some few historians would answer this question confidently in the affirmative. But it is highly probable that they would not be right, or not altogether right. A categorical answer is impossible until the language is actually interpreted. But meanwhile we must observe the following indications of what the answer is likely to be : (1) there is no other trace of the survival of any language of neolithic times that can be compared with Etruscan, which is unlike all the other dialects of ancient Italy. There were descendants of the scanty neolithic population living in Italy in historical times, but either they had abandoned their own and learnt some other language or else their own language had no relation to Etruscan. Next (2) the tombs in which Etruscan inscriptions are found are those of the nobility buried therein, a nobility (as we have seen) of eastern Mediterranean antecedents ; not of their Villanovan predecessors, least of all of a "submerged tenth" going back to neolithic times. It is absurd to suggest that *antele feluske* at Vetulonia was of neolithic descent, or even a Villanovan dependent of some Etruscan aristocrat ; he *was* an Etruscan aristocrat.¹ And it is just as absurd to suggest that this Etruscan aristocrat had adopted the language

¹ Even if *feluske* is "Falisci (gen. sg.)" (which is doubtful).

of a tiny minority of the people whom he had conquered, a minority that had been reduced to the status of a "sweeper" caste, hewers of wood and drawers of water. In this connexion the extreme paucity of Etruscan epitaphs outside of Etruria is significant: they are manifestly the epitaphs of Etruscan nobles, not of descendants of neolithic cave-dwellers who somehow had risen to eminence.¹

It is historically certain that the Etruscan inscriptions found outside of Etruria proper were written by folks who had come from Etruria, or at their bidding, and not by or for local survivors of the neolithic stock. They are not only comparatively late in date; they also cease entirely and abruptly when the Etruscans were expelled and restricted once more to Etruria. This proves that they are in the language of the temporary Etruscan masters of those districts and not of the older inhabitants, and also, what has been stated more than once, namely, that Etruscan was a peculiar language in Italy. But there is no more reason for supposing the language of the neolithic population to have survived in Etruria than for example, in Campania; we might as reasonably expect it to appear in other parts of Italy. Yet contrary to the theory of a neolithic survival, Etruscan first appears, strangely enough, in a very definite place, at a very definite time, and in very definite surroundings which quite fail to substantiate the theory of a neolithic survival.

We may, therefore, reject the simple "neolithic" theory of Etruscan. And (ii) we may reject even more confidently any attribution of Etruscan to the "southern Villanovans" of Etruria. For (1) their kinsmen elsewhere in Italy, even their remotest kinsmen whether in time or in place, never anywhere or at any time left Etruscan inscriptions behind them, but, when there is any linguistic record of them at all, it is of dialects totally unrelated to Etruscan. Moreover (2) they were in occupation before the semi-Orientals in whose tombs the oldest Etruscan inscriptions were found. Besides (3) they came down from the north while the archæological record proves not only that the semi-Orientals were later on the soil, and very much later still north of the Apennines, but also that they planted themselves first on the west coast of Etruria.

¹ Compare the remarks of Randall-MacIver, *The Etruscans*, p. 123.

II. FROM ASIA MINOR ?

Of the two alternatives then, that Etruscan was, as it were, "indigenous" (the language of neolithic people), or that it was introduced after neolithic times, the first is by no means to be so glibly asserted, as some would assume; it is, on the contrary, when so stated, quite unacceptable. Further, as to the second, since Etruscan is distinct from all other languages that we know to have been so introduced into Italy, it follows that it must have been introduced from some source quite different from that of those other languages. It would seem, therefore, that (iii) only the authors of the orientalizing culture are left, no matter what the precise linguistic affiliations of Etruscan may be. The very fact that the earliest Etruscan inscriptions coincide with the first appearance of their civilization points straight to this conclusion. But the conclusion is greatly strengthened by the following considerations: (1) that civilization as we have already seen (p. 214), cannot be ascribed to Phœnician or Greek trade. Further (2) the little that is certainly known of Etruscan links that language with early non-Indo-European languages of the Ægean and of Asia Minor. The chief evidence for this statement will be presented immediately. And (3) the universal ancient tradition (except for a conjecture made by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and a fragment of Hellanicus preserved by him)¹ is, from Herodotus² onwards, that the Etruscans themselves were invaders from the east, from Asia Minor—from Lydia, in fact, though it is not necessary to insist on this last detail. Taken together the evidence is already overwhelmingly and irresistibly in favour of regarding the early Etruscans as a small body of invading conquerors (not a large body of immigrants) who brought their language, what we call Etruscan, with them. The seamanship of Mediterranean peoples at the beginning of the first millennium B.C. has been often much underrated; there is nothing improbable in supposing such a movement of small groups of warriors. It was probably spread over a number of years and the journey itself was made by short stages, as the quasi-Etruscan inscription of Lemnos proves.

¹ 1, 28-30, cf. Anticlides ap Strab., 5, 2, 4, 221 (Pelasgians).

² 1, 94.

These circumstances help to explain why the mother-tongue itself has not yet been discovered. Apparently the Etruscans learnt their alphabet (from the Greeks) while they were *en route* to the west. If they wrote previously at all they must have used a different script. It is, to be sure, possible that they were too insignificant, or too much occupied in other ways in their home-land, to have mastered any of the various arts of writing—hieroglyphic or pictographic, cuneiform, and alphabetic—that had been adopted already in Asia Minor: but who shall say that one or other of the still undeciphered languages spoken there¹ about 1000 B.C. may not yet prove to be the long-sought-for mother-tongue? We have, indeed, Lydian inscriptions, which can be read, but are not perfectly understood; and one of the most striking features of Lydian is a genitival ending -αλ or -λ that it is difficult not to compare with the Etruscan ending -(a)l which has the same function.

12. THE EVIDENCE OF PROPER NAMES

The ancient local names of Etruria and of Asia Minor, both in stem and in characteristic methods of word-formation show some striking correspondences which suggest close links between the two. Thus, beside *Arnus* (the Arno), in Etruria, we have *Arna* (city and river) in Asia Minor, and similarly *Pisæ* (Pisa) and *Pis(s)as*—to quote only two examples out of very many. The Etruscan *smīnθe* seems to show the same name as Ἀπόλλων Σμίνθιος (in the Troad), and the formant -nθ- to be as familiar in Etruscan as -nθ- in Ægean names. In Ὑττηνία, said to mean a "group of four cities" (Τετράπολις), a name which appears with very little variation on both sides of the Ægean sea, have been recognized not only a pre-Hellenic -την-, perhaps meaning "city" and common in the Greek-speaking world (e.g. Τήνειον), but also the Etruscan numeral *huθ* "four". Such correspondences may be discovered also in words other than proper names, for example, Etruscan *puia* "wife" beside

¹ Specimens (except of Hittite hieroglyphic texts) may be seen in Friedrich, J., *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler*, Berlin, 1932 (Lietzmann's Kleine Texte, no. 163); the Lydian and Aramaic bilingual (p. 109) which, it was hoped, would furnish a clue, has proved not so useful after all, since by a most unkind mischance the interpretation of the Aramaic version itself is beset by obscurities.

Greek *ὄπυίω* (which, like a rather large percentage of words in the Greek dictionary, has no satisfactory Indo-European etymology). Both Etruscan and Lydian have not only *-(a)l* as a genitival ending, but also *-s* or *-š* (apparently as an alternative), and, what is more striking, a combination of both endings, Etruscan *-ls* and *-lš* and Lydian *-lš*. Again, compare Etruscan *purθne* and *epθni*, an official title, with Greek *πρύτανις*, *βρυτανήιον* (where the very alternation of *π* and *β* is significant). Both Etruscan and Lydian show a formant *-ax* (*-ac*) and *-ak* used in building up family names, and if the *δαρ*-element in *Τίνδαρος*, *Τυνδαρίδαι* is equivalent, as Kretschmer holds, to the Etruscan *-thur* or *-tur* (*velthur*), then *Tiv-* (or *Tuv-*) may be identified with *tin*, the Etruscan name of Jupiter. The Etruscan *-c* and the Lydian *-k* both meaning "and" also appear to be identical. It is not improbable that *τύραννος* (again not Indo-European), the Lydian local-name *Τύσσα*, *Turnus*, *Τυρσᾶνοί* (*Τυρρηνοί*), *Tuscus* (older * *turs-co-*), *E-trus-cus*, and *turan* (the Etruscan name of Venus, literally "the tyrant-goddess") all belong together.

To this list of comparisons, coincidences possibly, many others might be added. But enough has been offered to show the nature of the evidence which, in its cumulative effect, suggests that something more than coincidence is involved. Add that there are quite compelling likenesses between Etruscan¹ and the formula *ζῖναι αἰνῖ σιαλχινῖ μαραχ-μ* in the pre-Hellenic inscription of Lemnos, where, according to Thucydides,² Tyrrhene colonists had settled, and there seems to be little doubt that the Etruscan language must be regarded as most closely related to an early non-Indo-European stratum of speech traces of which are observable in Asia Minor, Greece, Lemnos, and perhaps in Crete. It does not at once follow that the language was brought to western Italy from the eastern Mediterranean—it may have been "indigenous" (in the qualified sense in which that word must necessarily be used of anything in Italy). But when we consider its restricted extent in Italy, and the complete absence of anything like it in other parts of the peninsula than those occupied by the Etruscans themselves, together with the

¹ *ζῖνας αἰνῖς xxvi* (Fabretti, C.I.I. 2100). *-alx-* is a formant denoting decades or tens in Etruscan; *sa-* or *ša-* an Etruscan numeral; *mara-* and *ainῖ* were explained above (pp. 200, 224).

² 4, 109, 4.

unequivocal archæological evidence that Etruscan civilization was introduced into Italy from somewhere in hither Asia, the conclusion that Etruscan speech was introduced from the same source at the same time and by the same people is, in the light of present knowledge, if not compelling at least the best supported. But until our knowledge of the language is greatly increased it must be admitted as possible that when the Asiatic pirates whose descendants the Romans called Tuscans or Etruscans landed in Italy they found surviving there a Mediterranean language not altogether unrelated to their own.

13. INFLUENCE OF ETRUSCAN ; THE FALISCANS

Before we leave the language of these Etruscans we may observe that the Italic speech of at least two communities was strongly affected by it, as the actual records show. Besides the Etruscanizing inscriptions of the Faliscans, there is a group of rustic Latin texts from Præneste,¹ which show marked Etruscan features. These are chiefly on bronzes, mirrors, and *ciste* from Prænestine tombs, just as many Prænestine names (e.g. *Aptronius*, *Masclius*, *Tappurius*) are represented by parallel or equivalent forms in Etruscan inscriptions. Thus *Alixentroš* is a characteristic Etruscan modification of a Greek name, and a spelling such as *diesptr* is more familiar in Etruscan than in Latin. As for the Faliscans, they began, as we have seen, by sharing the Villanovan civilization of early Etruria and of Latium, and in due course were partly Etruscanized. The linguistic evidence bears out that of archæology, and the Faliscan dialect, while closely related to Latin, is strongly permeated by Etruscan characteristics. In the historical period the Faliscans appear as half-Latin and half-Etruscan in speech, and perhaps more than half-Etruscan in culture, at least until Falerii itself was reduced by Rome in 241 B.C. In the struggle between Rome and Etruria they generally sided with the latter. There is no precise record of their territorial limits ; besides Falerii itself only two sites (Fescennia and Soracte) are definitely described as Faliscan by ancient authority, and accordingly only the distribution of Faliscan inscriptions (Cività Castellana, Santa Maria di Falleri, Carbognano,

¹ *Italic Dialects*, nos. 287 ff.

Corchiano, and Capena) gives a clue to their extent. The following text will serve to show how little the dialect form differed from Latin; it was written in an alphabet derived from the Etruscan (but with a peculiar form $\uparrow f$),

foied uino pipaso cra carefo
 "hodie uinum bibam, cras carebo";

but in the spelling *uipia* "Vibia" in a Faliscan inscription there is a clear Etruscan trait.

The goddess Juno Quiritis, who is also Sabine, was associated with Falerii before she was evoked thence to Rome, like the Juno of Veii; but she is more Italic than Etruscan. This comment applies also to Minerva at Falerii and to Feronia (again Sabine) at Capena. So, too, the cult of Dis Soranus by the fire-leaping priests (Hirpi) of Mount Soracte was essentially Italic. Hostia, on the other hand (at Sutrium), may have been more definitely Etruscan, perhaps the patron goddess of an Etruscan family, and Nortia and Vortumnus (both at Volsinii) surely were such. Nortia seems to have been properly a goddess of healing and to have come to be thought of as a goddess of fate, such as Horace¹ and Juvenal² picture, only from the circumstance that once a year a nail was driven into the wall of her temple³ to mark the passing of time. The traditional etymology of Latin *forda* would make the by-form *horda* and the festival *hordicalia*⁴ Faliscan in dialect. The name of another festival *Struppearia* "ubi coronati ambulabant" is definitely stated to have been Faliscan, and in the Faliscan calendar the tenth (or as we should reckon it, the ninth) day after the Ides was called "decimatus," in which *-atro-* is no doubt a dialectal pronunciation of what in

¹ Odes, I, 35, 18, 3, 24, 5.

² Sat., 10, 74.

³ Livy, 7, 3, 7.

⁴ *Fordicidia* (April 15) at Rome. The form *hordicalia* (Varro, R. R. 2, 5, 6), a certain emendation for the *fordicalia* of the manuscripts, is no doubt a genuinely ancient Latinized dialect-form. It shows *-alia* common in the names of festivals (*Volcanalia*, cf. Osc. *fertalis* "fertilibus") as an extension of **hordico-*, an adj. derived from *borda* (cf. *uileus* : *uila*), which, I think, still may be connected with $\chi\omicron\rho\delta\eta$ rather than with *fero*. But on this etymology *hordicalia* will be Latin, and *fordicidia* the dialectal form. It is possible that conflation between *borda* (: $\chi\omicron\rho\delta\eta$) and *forda* "prægnans" has taken place. For a Jewish custom, intended to promote fertility, and involving the *after-birth* ($\chi\omicron\rho\delta\eta$) from a cow, see Gaster in Hastings' *Enc. of Rel. and Ethics*, 2, p. 656. There is nothing in Weinstock's criticism (*Glotta*, 22, 1934, p. 145) to weaken my etymology of *hordicalia* (C. Q. 15, 1921, pp. 108 f.).

Latin would have been *-altero-*, just as in *ater* "postridianus,"¹ comparable with French *autre* (cf. p. 201 above) or the rustic Tuscan Italian *autro*. It would be unjustifiable, however, to attempt to find anything specifically Faliscan or Etruscan in either *Struppearia* or in the *decimatrus*—these forms probably show mere rustic peculiarities. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that *struppus* "band, fillet," which seems to be Greek in origin, is cited in connexion with the worship of Castor at Tusculum (the name of which is a tell-tale, cf. *Tuscus*), and that a system of reckoning forwards in the calendar was in vogue there also (*triatrus*, *sexatrus*, *septematrus*). It is possible, therefore, that *struppus* represents an Etruscan modification of the Greek *στροφή* or *στροφήιον*, and also that the peculiar method of counting days forwards from a fixed point in the month (instead of backwards as at Rome) was due to Etruscan influence.² But it is unnecessary to repeat here the oft-repeated story of the effect which contact with the Etruscans had upon religion at Rome, during the period of their domination of Latium. Their influence on Latin literature was less direct and less profound, though it is likely enough that the *uersus Fescennini*, which like *satura* might easily have developed into drama, originally belonged to the Faliscan town *Fescennia*; both *histrion* and *persona* appear to be Latinized forms of Etruscan words for actor (the latter perhaps ultimately the Greek *πρόσωπον*); and if it is fanciful to search for Etruscan obscurity in Persius, who affects the Etruscan word *trossulus*, at least we should not forget that the patron of letters Mæcenas was descended from a princely Etruscan family.

It is possible to exaggerate the importance of the Etruscans and their contributions to Roman life. But it seems clear that even Rome owed much in architecture and in the arts, and in her political, social, and military organization to them, and certain that the Roman and the Etruscan systems of personal nomenclature have a great deal in common. On the other hand, it is just as certain that many of the local names of Etruria, no less than of Campania, were "Italic" in origin, and were retained by the Etruscans, for example *Gravisca*, *Nepete*, *Vetulonium*, and

¹ See Whatmough, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 42, 1931, pp. 162, 168.

² *Ibid.*

Rusellæ, to mention no others. These testify to days older than the Etruscan colonists.

14. ETRUSCAN OVERLORDS AND ITALIAN UNITY

For we must always bear in mind that even in Etruria proper the true Etruscans were never numerous. That view which sees them as a small body of overlords who made themselves masters among a people alien in race is most in accord with the evidence we have surveyed in this chapter. In Campania, whence they were expelled by the Samnites in the middle of the fourth century, they never planted themselves firmly enough to produce lasting effects on the life and civilization of the people. Rome had expelled an Etruscan dynasty even earlier, and was never in the fullest sense an Etruscan city. North of the Apennines again, as we have already seen, the Etruscans established powerful outposts, but without stamping their impress on either the language or the culture of Cisalpine Gaul. The height of their power was reached shortly before 500 B.C., when it extended from a line just north of the Po¹ to as far south as Naples, in an unbroken sweep across the Apennines and through the western half of the peninsula.

This Etruscan empire actually was the first attempt to create a united Italy. Various causes conspired to bring it to nought. Chief among them seem to have been a rapid degeneracy which may have been due to the crippling effects of a caste system favoured by the Etruscans themselves. Doubtless, too, they made political blunders—they usually failed to give united support when one of their confederacy of cities was threatened even by extreme peril until it was too late. The coming of the Gauls had something to do with cutting short their northern colonies. And perhaps their first successes had been too easily won in a land far from prepared to resist them at the beginning of the first millennium B.C. Last of all, there is nothing to show that they ever made any attempt to weld together the several races whom they conquered into a single people. For that the times were not yet ripe. But it is not to be denied that they found Italy a semi-

¹ Not into the Alps (cf. p. 188 above). Livy's statement (5, 33, 11) is explicit: the Etruscans of Alpine valleys in his day were "degenerate fugitives who had gone wild in their savage surroundings" (Randall-MacIver).

barbarian country and, before their power was broken, had civilized over one-third of it. Even to-day the cultural heritage of Italy must be counted in some measure Etruscan.

Select Bibliography.—This bibliography does not aim at completeness. It is intended to guide the student to further reading, not only of a general character, but also in some of the special problems connected with Etruria (including the Faliscans), with the Etruscans, and with their language and civilization. Accordingly a number of the more important monographs, and of articles in periodicals, is included. The student who wishes to keep himself informed of advances in this field should consult the bibliographies which appear regularly in *Studi Etruschi* (Florence), *Historia* (Milan), and *Glotta* (Göttingen).

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CHAPTER X

PICENUM

I. BOUNDARIES

THE Picene civilization is so distinctive in character that it must be given a chapter to itself, albeit a short one. This peculiar civilization has already been briefly noticed in connexion with the Novilara group of graves and inscriptions on the coast of Umbria. We must now follow its southern extension in Picenum proper and beyond. Picenum alone made up the fifth *regio* of Augustus. It extended from the river *Æsis* north of Ancona, southwards to the river *Matrinus*, and inland from the Adriatic coast to the ridge of the Apennines which at certain points here approaches the sea by less than forty miles. Thus it by no means corresponds with the modern Marche, which have both northern and southern frontiers further north. But the former *ager Gallicus*, which Augustus included in Umbria, was in earlier times often thought of as part of Picenum, and the Romans might speak of it as "in Piceno," at least as late as the third century B.C. It would appear, however, that this involved an abbreviation—"Picenum," or "*ager Picenus*" standing for "*ager Picenus et Gallicus*," which is the phrase of the *Lex Flaminia* of 232 B.C., and as a rule the two were distinguished. The southern part of Picenum itself was occupied by the *Prætuttii*, a tribe whose name is preserved in the modern *Abruzzi* (*Aprutium* in the seventh century A.D.), and whose territory, lying between the *Vomanus* and the *Tessinus*, included the *Truentus* with *Castrum Nouum*, *Interamnina*, and *Hadria* (the modern *Atri*).

2. TRADITIONS AND TOPONOMY

The ancient tradition which explains the name of the *Picentes* (or *Piceni*, *Picentini*) as derived from the *picus* sacred to Mars ¹

¹ Strabo, 5, 4, 1.

may be sound, for the names of more than one of the ancient tribes of Italy are taken from those of living creatures, which, it has been suggested, may at one period have been thought of as "totems" (e.g. *Hirpini* from *hirpus* "wolf"; cf. *Luca-ni* if that contains **luco-* "wolf," Gr. *λύκος*, Skt. *vṛka-s*—an animal important in the legend of Romulus and Remus; and perhaps *Italia* itself, cf. p. 337 below). We have already seen the importance of a god called "*Picuuius Martius" at Iguvium (p. 196 above), and it may be worth noting that the back of the inscribed stele of Fano¹ shows a bird (*picus*?) and some wild animal (a wolf?) which may be totems. But this etymology of Picenum implies what Pliny states,² namely that the people of Picenum were Samnite, that is an "Italic" stock, a view that from the archæological point of view is at least disputed. More important is Pliny's assertion that in former days they were thickly settled on the soil, *quondam uberrimæ multitudinis*. Their prowess and their wealth we shall have occasion to note presently. Meanwhile we must observe first that in speaking of the early iron age civilization of the central Adriatic littoral and its hinterland as "Picene," it is not admitted that this civilization was "Italic" in the sense in which the Villanovan civilization is often spoken of as "Italic". No doubt an Italic speech was planted there at some time which cannot be definitely determined. The evidence for it is scanty, but it would appear that before Latin became current, and subsequent to, or at least very distinct from, that "præ-Italic" dialect which has often been called by the dubious title "old Sabellic" (or "Picentine," or "Prætuttian"), there was spoken in at least a few places an idiom not unlike Umbrian. We have one inscription³ from Osimo, ten miles south of Ancona, which more closely than the other non-Latin inscriptions of the district resembles the Italic dialects proper, and perhaps may not unfairly be called "north Umbrian". On the other hand, it has at least one feature in common with one of the inscriptions of south Picenum which fall in the group better called southern "East Italic"⁴ than "Old Sabellic". Again there are other

¹ *Præ-Italic Dialects*, no. 345.

² 3, 110, cf. Dion. Hal., i, 14, 5. Pliny (*l.c.*) also recognises the remnants of an Illyrian (Liburnian) settlement in Picenum.

³ *Præ-Italic Dialects*, ii, no. 347.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 226; cf. p. 107 above.

local names of the district besides Picenum itself which are Italic, notably Cupra (Maritima and Montana)—at Cupra Maritima there was a cult of a *dea Cupra*, who is usually thought of as an equivalent of the Latin “bona dea,” but the names¹ later suggested comparison with that of the Cyprian goddess, knowledge of whom came through Magna Græcia, and were sometimes misspelled accordingly, just as the Oscan goddess Herentas, the meaning of whose name is practically the same,² viz. “desire” and “desirable (i.e. good),” was associated with the goddess of Eryx (*herukina*—also mis-spelled). No doubt to begin with the *dea Cupra* was rather a sort of Ceres, a goddess of plants and crops. But in any event “Cupra mater” (with *-br-* for an older *-pr-* as regularly) was worshipped at Fulginia³ in Umbria. And finally, the older Latin inscriptions of Picenum show dialect forms such as *petrušdi*, *pašdi*, *uebeia*, which, like the few glosses of the region, are easily explained as Umbrian, or at least Italic. Accordingly the reader is asked to observe that “Picene” is here used, as by Randall-MacIver, in default of a better geographical term; and if “Picene” should seem to specify a particular ethnic or linguistic classification, then it would be wiser to abandon that term and speak of an “East Italic” type of early iron-age civilization in the eastern part of central Italy, just as for similar reasons, we speak of the “East Italic” inscriptions, provided always that the linguistic remains and the archæological material be kept distinct except where they are actually found together. Happily they are found together, not only at Novilara, as we have already seen, but also at Belmonte Piceno. It is unfortunate that there is no record of the circumstances in which the seven other southern “East Italic” inscriptions were discovered.

3. EXTENT OF THE PICENE CIVILIZATION

The Picene culture, however, extends south as well as north of Picenum proper. The remains at Aufidena, the ancient capital of the Samnites, belong to the same general group; and there we are as far south as the latitude of Monte Gargano, and

¹ *C.I.L.* 9, 5294; she was mistakenly identified with Hera by Strabo (5, 4, 2). *Cupra* is probably cognate with Latin *cupio*. See Walde-Hofmann, *Lat. etym. Wtb.*, ed. 3, s.v. *cupio*, and *Ital. Dial.*, p. 450.

² A noun instead of an adjective.

³ *Ital. Dial.*, no. 354.

further south than Rome. Thus we find this Picene civilization extending from Ancona in the north to the upper waters of the river Sangro and extending well into the territory of the Samnites; in fact the civilization of the Samnites in the early iron age appears to be derived entirely from that of the Picenes. Other tribes of central eastern Italy similarly fall within its range, notably the Marrucini, the Frentani, the Caraceni, the Marsi, the Pæligni, the Vestini, the Æqui, and in large measure also the Sabini. Most of these we shall find, in historic times, speaking dialects of the Italic group properly so called, but happily there are two inscriptions of the "East Italic" class from the country of the Marrucini and the Pæligni, one of them, namely that of Grecchio (six miles inland, between Teate and Anxanum, i.e. almost in the middle of the territory of the Marrucini),¹ perhaps the most ancient inscription yet discovered east of the Apennines, if not (excepting only Etruscan inscriptions) in the whole of Italy. And these two inscriptions perhaps represent a fragment of speech once current through the whole of this district, but afterwards displaced by one of the Italic dialects, which had worked their way down along the western fringe of Umbria into the centre of the peninsula. In fact in historical times the affinities of the Italic speech of the Marsi, the Æqui, and perhaps of the Sabini² too, with Latin or "Latinian" are much more marked than those with Umbrian and Oscan, even though the Marrucini, Vestini, and Pæligni, like the Frentani and other Samnite tribes, spoke dialects closely allied to Oscan. But the evidence of these dialect inscriptions really belongs to a later period and should not be allowed to affect our judgment of the proper classification of the early iron age Picenes themselves; in any event the difficulties of classification from the linguistic side are no greater than those presented by the dialect of the Volscians, which though contiguous with

¹ See *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, p. 241, n. 2.

² The much-discussed view held by Ridgeway, which forced Sabine into the Osco-Umbrian group of dialects (as distinguished from the Latin-Faliscan group), is not supported by such meagre remains of the Sabine dialect as we possess (*Ital. Dial.*, pp. 352 ff.). Even their name *Sabini* (with its *-b-*) is Latin (*Safinum* in Osc.). But that is because the dialect had been Latinized already; before the spread of Latin it probably belonged closely enough to the Osco-Umbrian group (see p. 285 below).

Oscan to the south and, stranger still, with Latin to the north, is in many ways more like Umbrian than any other Italic dialect. Since, therefore, the situation is so complicated linguistically, it is better to begin by considering the archæological evidence by itself. But it is fair to warn the reader at once that there are two quite distinct theories concerning not only the Picenes, who, as we have had occasion to remark more than once, are conspicuous in Italy of the early iron age for their burial-rite (among other things), but concerning also the great mass of the central Italic tribes south of Latium, where again inhumation is the prevailing practice. The Picenes and the other tribes of that age who buried, instead of cremating, their dead present a peculiar problem, and between the two contending views it is as yet not possible to make a positive decision.

4. VON DUHN'S THEORY

Von Duhn has propounded the theory of two distinct stocks of "Italic" population, divided according to their burial rite—cremating "Italicı" and inhuming "Italici," and to the latter group he assigns the Picenes and other inhuming Sabellians of the early iron age. According to Randall-MacIver on the other hand, who is followed by most English students, the Picenes and also the Sabellian tribes, are descendants of the old neolithic stock, who, he holds, entrenched themselves on the east coast of Italy and survived, preserving their own funerary rite intact, through the ages. On this assumption, the Oscan and the kindred dialects spoken by the tribes of central Italy, since they belong very closely to Umbrian, but yet were spoken by peoples living in districts where inhumation is the regular rite, and where in the early iron age von Duhn again sees inhuming "Italici," must have been introduced there, either by a very small body of settlers who at once became merged ethnically and culturally with the previous population (as at somewhat later date in Campania and Lucania), or even from an external source not actually in their territory but perhaps further north among the cremating people, just as Latin itself was subsequently introduced there, without making the Sabellian tribes Latins or justifying us in calling them "Latini" merely on the ground that they spoke Latin. The other theory requires us

to suppose that in Italy some of the central European and Danubian invaders, whom we must suppose to have previously cremated their dead, had adopted the rite of inhumation by the beginning of the iron age, from older inhabitants of the country which they invaded and in which they settled, but that they brought their "Italic" speech with them. It is, in fact, true that cremation gradually was abandoned in Italy, throughout the length and breadth of the land, and gave way to the older rite from the close of the early iron age onwards.

But it is remarkable that there is no trace of these inhuming "Italici" (if "Italici" they be) among "Italici" settled elsewhere in Italy, north of the territory occupied in historical times by the Sabini, Vestini, and Marrucini; surely, on their way south, some of them at least must have died and been buried in regions where the usual rite was cremation. But there is nothing to reveal this southward migration of inhuming "Italici" on their march into central and southern Italy. A glance at the maps published by von Duhn himself¹ will show the relative distribution of his cremating "Italici" and inhuming "Italici". The latter are thickest on the ground in Picenum, eastern Umbria, the Molise; and in the adjoining regions, where they have spread outwards from their chief sites in central Italy, or where (to put it the other way) inhumation has come to be practised again in the early iron age at a few settlements in the midst of tribes who otherwise at that date practised cremation. It is obviously wiser, in the present state of knowledge, to abandon altogether the term "Italici" as applied to the early iron age peoples. Its racial implications, and especially the suggestion of a racial unity which it involves, go much further than actual knowledge; the term is also open to the objection that it properly and originally applied only to the extreme south-western part of the peninsula. There is nothing to show, so far, that the early iron age tribes of Picenum and other parts of central Italy, were racially identical with or even closely akin to those of northern Italy or of the western part of central Italy, as von Duhn's use of the name "Italici" would seem to imply.

Moreover, there are certain clear distinctions in the character

¹ *Italische Graberkunde*, 1, Heidelberg, 1924, especially maps 1-3, 9. Cf. p. 193 above.

of their material remains which separate at least the Picenes very markedly from their cremating neighbours. Whether, or not, therefore, they were actually descended from the neolithic inhabitants of Italy, as Randall-MacIver holds, it is still vitally important to distinguish them sharply from the other early iron age groups. The evidence of linguistic remains in Picenum is, as we have seen, too late in date, and also still too uncertain in interpretation, to be decisive. Nevertheless, if it should ever appear that the language of the southern "East Italic" inscriptions (as distinguished from that of the northern "East Italic" group, see p. 107 above) belongs, not as is commonly conjectured, to the Illyrian tongue (and this is merely a conjecture), but to some ancient stratum of Italian or Mediterranean speech, then it, too, would become significant in the correct interpretation of the archæological evidence, if only as a survival from times older than the beginning of the early iron age. Among the Oscan-speaking Sabellian tribes also, taken as a whole, though the dialects are well understood and their classification certain, the linguistic evidence is too late in date to justify us in attaching the label "Italic" to the inhabitants of their territory in the early iron age, merely on the ground that those dialects, like Umbrian, belong to the Italic group as it has come to be called. In any event it is a mistake to dwell too much on this problem of inhuming "Italic" with regard to the correlation of linguistic and archæological evidence. It is likely enough that Latin, like Umbrian, was introduced by a cremating people; yet Latin is quite distinct from Umbrian. On the other hand, according to von Duhn, the Oscan dialects were introduced by inhuming peoples; yet Oscan is more closely related to Umbrian than Latin is. Clearly it is not merely unnecessary, but actually misleading, to force the classification of the dialects to match the classification of the earlier civilizations.

5. ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS : BELMONTE PICENO

We have noted in an earlier chapter¹ some traces of settlements in the Picene territory and in adjoining districts which go back to the neolithic and bronze ages. It remains now to

¹ Pp. 56, 58, 80 above.

survey the early iron-age settlements. One of the most interesting sites is that of Belmonte Piceno in central Picenum; for although the great inscribed stone discovered there was an accidental find, there is little reason for dissociating it from the other important material remains unearthed at the same and adjoining spots since 1900 by Brizio and others. There is some difference of opinion concerning the date of the cemetery excavated at Belmonte. According to Brizio himself the objects which he discovered, and therefore the inscription, which also came from the "predio Vollese," belonged to the sixth century

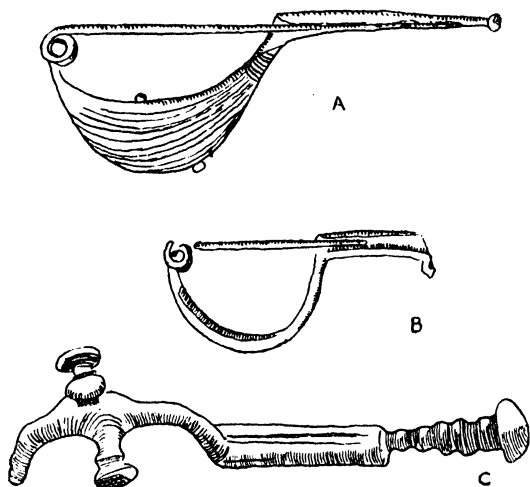


FIG. 94.—Picene Fibulæ (Belmonte).

B.C. But he examined a very restricted area, and since then close on three hundred graves have been opened and much more material gathered, the greater part of which may be safely considered some five decades earlier. In any event, Belmonte is later than the Novilara sites, and so far as the Belmonte inscription alone is concerned, the epigraphical evidence is in itself too meagre and too dubious to outweigh the archæological. Accordingly the date *c.* 650-600 B.C. may be accepted, at least provisionally. This dating is based, as usual, on the fibulæ, which are predominantly of Certosa type and never of types

earlier than late in the seventh century. Objects of Greek origin, or imitated from Greek models, especially pottery ranging from a "proto-Corinthian" balsamary to a red-figured vase, confirm this dating and also show that Belmonte was occupied continuously for about two centuries from *c.* 650 B.C. There was evidently a lively trade up and down the Adriatic in the sixth and fifth centuries which accounts for the marked Ionic influence to be observed not only in pottery but also in metal-work, vases, situlæ (notably the dice-box pattern), and the like, helmets, cuirasses, greaves, and, so far as restorations of them from mere fragments may be trusted, even chariots, both at Belmonte itself and at other Picene sites. Some of the Belmonte specimens have been identified as racing chariots, a distinct novelty. It is conjectured that this Ionic influence reached Picenum from the south and in its later phases at least such was evidently the case, for there are also vases of Apulian origin and Apulian types.



FIG. 95.—Bronze Situla from Cupra Marittima.

In the strongest possible contrast, however, with objects of Greek inspiration and derivation, whether actually imports or merely copies, stands a great mass of material that shows entirely native workmanship. The graves are simple earth graves, close together, and lacking any orderly arrangement. The bodies are generally laid, in a half-crouching position, on the right side, sometimes covered with a piece of material and usually wearing their regular clothing and accompanied by their regular equipment and ornaments. Thus the men wore a woollen tunic and over it a cuirass and numerous iron fibulæ of a great variety of sizes and patterns. Necklaces and pendants of chain-work, sometimes amounting in the aggregate to a considerable weight, are extraordinarily common. Weapons, too, are found in great profusion, shields, helmets, both of native and of Greek, especially Corinthian, pattern, greaves, spears, heavy two-

handed swords, axes, knives, and the rest. This abundance of armaments is characteristic not only of Belmonte, but of the Picene region generally, and is interpreted to mean that the Picenes were extremely warlike. Since, however, they did not carry their peculiar civilization to other parts of Italy, it is clear that in Picenum they were fighting for their existence, either as an immigrant people who found it hard to retain the foothold that they had gained, or else as a surviving remnant of an older population, who only here, and only with some difficulty,

managed to survive at all. Certain it is that they managed to keep back and even to turn aside the flood of Villanovans coming down from the north; and more likely that they were either survivors of the old stocks or totally distinct new-comers (perhaps from across the Adriatic) than that they were merely a branch of "Italici" akin to the Villanovans.



FIG. 96. — Picene Ornament with Chain-work and Pendants.

The women, too, wore woollen garments, a tunic with sleeves, and a long cloak that came up over the head and down to the knees. Fasteners of various types, bronze, glass, amber, or ivory rings and links were freely used, perhaps also in part for magical ends—to ward off the evil eye. Throughout central and southern Picenum, in fact, the quantity of amber, and the size of amber ornaments—discs, plaques, bullæ, beads, and

shoulder pieces—is without parallel in ancient Italy. It betokens unusual wealth, some of it no doubt gained as we should say "unlawfully," but some of it due to extensive trading of which more will be said presently; for the wearer amber objects probably served both as charms and as ornaments besides being so much portable wealth. Certainly more than mere ornament would seem to be indicated by attaching pieces of amber weighing altogether two or two and a half pounds to a huge brooch. The forms, too, into which the amber was often worked are clearly apotropaic. But these cumbrous and gaudy decorations were not all; the Picene women were very fond of ornaments fashioned of a bronze ring,

sometimes quite large, from which were suspended several other rings or discs and to these a number of pendants, imitations of sea-shells (cypræa), axe-shaped pendants dangling from long chains, or simple chains, rods, bars, models of human figures (from which possibly the axe-pattern was evolved),¹ models of birds or animals, and not infrequently models of the human hand and arm. The only other early iron age group of people in Italy who used such pectorals and chatelaines were the Comacines (cf. pp. 137 f. above), and the conclusion that there was an active trade, direct or indirect, between the Comacine region and the Picene, apparently via the head of the Adriatic, seems entirely warranted. The manufacturing was probably done in Picenum itself, where moulds for casting many of the pendants have been found. The likely suggestion has been advanced, therefore, that the great quantities of amber beloved of the Picenes were obtained in exchange for these manufactures. A favourite motif, too, in pottery handles as well as in bronze models, is the ox; strings of double-bodied figures of oxen, cast in bronze, were worn at the waist. These may have had a religious significance, perhaps in connexion with the worship of an ancient Italic cattle-god (cf. p. 240), *Italia* (Osc. *vitellú*) being in fact "cattle-land". If right, this explanation fits in well with the theory of the neolithic origin of the Picenes.

6. OTHER PICENE SITES

Other sites may be noted more briefly. Fermo has yielded remains from two distinct cemeteries, ranging in date from the eighth to the fifth centuries. The earlier, the material from which may be compared with that of the Villanovan second Benacci period, is remarkable for the stray Villanovan influence which it shows, especially in girdles of repoussé style and Villanovan urns with geometrical ornaments and decorations formed of bronze studs. But the helmets there are rather Etruscan in pattern, and the fibulæ and pendants are definitely Picene. Hence it is conjectured that the manifest Villanovan types at Fermo were introduced through an intermediate Etruscan source, and not directly from northern Villanovan regions. Perhaps Terni where Picenes

¹ See *Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, 52, 1922, pp. 220 f.

and southern Villanovans overlap, was an important centre on the route over which Villanovan objects reached the more northerly Picenes as at Fermo; at least the frequency of amber at Terni is noteworthy and points to trade with the Picenes. From Ancona itself, which like Sant' Elpidio has graves dating as far back as the tenth century, come, among the more important objects discovered, two long antennæ-swords of bronze. Cupra Marittima and Grottamare, both further south and close together on the coast, begin somewhat later (eighth or seventh century B.C.) and continue into the sixth and fifth centuries; the former has yielded one ¹ of the few southern "East Italic" inscriptions, so that here, too, as at Belmonte, we have linguistic as well as

archæological evidence. Unfortunately the precise circumstances in which the inscribed stone of Cupra Marittima (Acquaviva) was first discovered are unknown. Attention was first called to it in 1849, when it is reported to have been found built into the wall of a ruinous medieval castle. There is an even more dubious inscription ² from Umana (the ancient Numana), which is also the source of a wide chronological range of archæological material. Numerous other sites, among them Montegiorgio, Rapagnano, Villalfonsina, San Ginnesio, Monte-

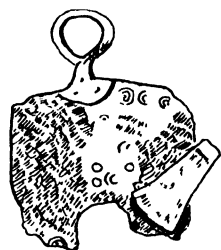


FIG 97. — Quadrangular Razor (with Axe-shaped Pendant Adhering).

rubbiano, Ripatransone, belong mainly to the sixth and fifth centuries, some of them showing Ionic influence of the kind we have already observed elsewhere, while Penna San Giovanni and Torre di Palma are Certosan in character. Atri (the ancient Hadria) and Teramo, further south still, fall within the Picene group of cemeteries; Fabriano, some twenty-five miles inland west of Ancona, shows, as might have been expected, strong Etruscan influence in the seventh century. At Teramo and at Petrara (Atri) it is noteworthy that the dead were buried extended at full length instead of contracted as at Belmonte.

It is important to observe that there are certain differences in the arms, particularly the sword, which distinguish the Picene material proper from the Novilaran. It is said that the char-

¹ *Præ-Italic Dialects*, ii, no. 349.

² *Ibid.*, p. 220, no. 3.

acteristic Novilaran sword is absent, except at Teramo, though we should remember that negative evidence is always liable to be upset. In its place there is found a long heavy weapon with a straight hilt. There is besides, as we noticed at Belmonte, not only the Corinthian helmet, but also the heavy iron mace or club and double-headed axe. The remains of bosses of shields, decorated in repoussé and showing once more Ionic influence, have been found at Rapagnano, and suggest very clearly the source from which innovations in both art and armament were reaching the east coast of Italy in the sixth and following centuries. Compared with these, contemporary native production is artistically quite undeveloped. So, too, in pottery, side by side with importations of Greek and Apulian origin, there is native work, both simple black bucchero and imitations of Etruscan styles. The former is usually hand-made, and the handles in the pattern of horns of cattle are distinctive. A few specimens have the handle in the shape of the entire figure of a cow. Picene ornaments are generally of bronze, very rarely of iron, and by the fourth century there are indications of Gallic influence to the north (the Senones, cf. p. 207) in the striking bronze and gold work conspicuous in a large quantity of objects of personal adornment.

7. THE FAILURE OF THE PICENE CULTURE

Only the future can reveal, by full and systematic excavations, whether or not it is merely by accident that, with but few exceptions, the peculiarly Picene sites are limited to the coast and to the strip of territory immediately inland from it. The uncertainty which besets us when we attempt to classify the Picene civilization among the other groups of the same date has already been emphasized. Obviously no help is to be had in solving this problem from the later period, when external influences, Villanovan, Etruscan, or Greek, have begun to make themselves felt. It is, however, also obvious that some of the Picene settlements were firmly established at the beginning of the early iron age. And there is another fact that emerges very clearly in addition to that of the territorial limitations to which the Picenes were restricted, namely, the comparatively short span of life of their civilization, their failure to develop any

vigorous national life of their own. Despite the warlike spirit shown by the abundance of arms found in their tombs in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., when they must have been at least the equals of the Samnites on the field of battle, and when they were culturally and artistically far superior to the Samnites, yet it was the Samnites, who themselves have been described as "a factor of hardly any importance in the history of civilization" in Italy, who became a factor of the greatest importance in the political history of Italy, while the Picenes, their independent development being early arrested, sank into inactivity, and instead of supporting the Italic tribes, allied themselves with Rome.¹ This alliance in itself suggests that they had some consciousness, more or less vague no doubt, of an inheritance which formed a breach between them and the Samnite tribes. Of sterling worth to the Italic peoples of central Italy as the active resistance offered by them to the first Gallic onslaught was in the fifth century, the Picenes were nevertheless an obstacle to an Italic expansion northwards, and still later they were at least passive in their attitude to those peoples, and not, as might have been expected, their ardent supporters. Thus they checked rather than helped whatever nascent sentiment towards an Italic unity there may have been concealed in the Samnite confederacy. However large, therefore, may have been the surviving neolithic element, which Randall-MacIver maintains to have constituted the greater part if not the whole of the Picene population in the first half of the last millennium B.C., it seems likely that there was also in it another constituent which was doubly foreign, foreign that is not only to those neolithic survivals but also to the early iron age tribes commonly grouped together as Villanovan, and which prevented the Picenes from joining hands with them until at last they paid the penalty for their isolation by becoming, after a bitter struggle, no longer the allies (with the single exception of the city of Asculum), but the subjects of Rome²—many of their number being transplanted to southern Campania.³ In fact, neither the linguistic nor the archæological evidence is in conflict with this view.

¹ Livy, 10, 10, 12.

² Livy, *Epit.*, 15 (268 B.C.).

³ Strabo, 5, 4, 13, 251 C.; cf. Pliny, *N.H.*, 3, 70. The name *Picentia* bears witness to their presence behind the gulf of Salerno.

Probably not a little of what is peculiar in the Picene civilization came from overseas across the Adriatic. It will no doubt become clearer, as excavation is continued in the Balkan regions themselves, exactly how much the settlements in the coastal districts of Picenum owe to those countries, and precisely how close the connexion between central Italy and the Balkans was. At present nothing very definite can be said as to the nature of the links between them, though it seems likely that they were formed not by extensive colonization (such as is found further south), nor by direct sea-borne commerce—at least not on an extensive scale—but rather by piratical raids from the Illyrian coast ending in occasional settlements, just as the Saxon and Danish conquests of Britain began with the descents of sea-raiders upon an inviting coast. But there the comparison ends; for whatever reason, these Illyrian raids and occasional settlements never became persistent or permanent enough to reach the dimensions of conquest. Rather any steady trade that there was between the Balkans and Picenum passed overland to some point at the head of the Adriatic, perhaps near Trieste¹ itself, and thence was carried coastwise to the harbour at Ancona and other landing-places. Similarly, the Greek influence which becomes so marked in Picenum from the seventh century onwards was the result much less of direct trading contacts, the traces of which are conspicuous enough on the west coast all the way from the straits of Messina to Etruria, than of an indirect association in which Campania and Magna Græcia generally, including Apulia, played the parts of intermediaries. *Ancona* (or *Ancon*) itself owes its Greek name (*ἀγκών* “elbow”) to a Greek colonization of much later date; it was a Syracusan foundation, said to have been established by exiles and foes of Dionysus I early in the fourth century B.C., and now generally considered to have been founded as part of the grandiose schemes of Dionysus for the control of the Adriatic.²

8. BALKAN AFFINITIES

Meanwhile we may take note of the few fairly certain links between Picenum and the Balkan regions which have so far been

¹ See p. 162 above for the probable meaning of the name *Tergeste* (“market”).

² *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, p. 194, cf. p. 440, n. 2, *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, vol. 6 (1927), pp. 129 ff.

identified. These are neither numerous nor, as yet, conclusive. Not only may further excavation in the Balkan lands modify our tentative conjectures; Picene Italy itself, both by further excavation, and by fuller publication and continued study of remains already discovered, will confirm or correct them also. Importance has been attached, and justly, to the

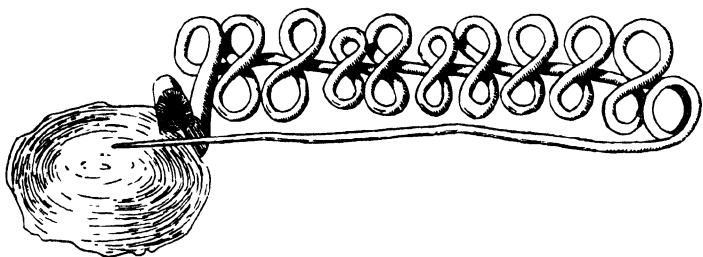


FIG. 98.—Figure-of-eight Fibula (Terni).

occurrence of the spectacle-fibula, "so peculiarly characteristic of the east coast of Italy," which is also found in Bosnia and in Greece. Again the "figure-of-eight" fibula, rare as it is in Picenum, is regarded as of Hungarian origin, though the "foliated" fibula is better counted native to Picenum. Somewhat at a later date (in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.)

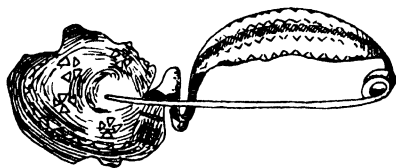


FIG. 99.—"Foliated" Fibula.

objects found in Picenum find their nearest congeners definitely in Illyrian territory, especially in Bosnia, now part of the republic of Yugoslavia, and not at all in Italy.

The peculiar Picene sword, with its hilt set at an angle to the blade, with the blade itself short and tapering, and with the cutting edge on the inside and weighted by a heavy back, has been identified with the Bosnian sword and knife (*haumesser*) as found at Sanskimost and Donja Dolina. Similarly, the Picene helmet of the Novilaran type, despite its Etruscan appearance, is perhaps more closely related to similar forms of helmet found in Carniola and in Greece. On the whole, the theory that regards these peculiar

forms of armament in Picenum as having been derived from the opposite coast of the Adriatic may be said to hold the field. They are plausibly explained as due to Illyrian freebooters who, starting out from Illyricum as pirates, swept down upon the Adriatic coast of central Italy and then, in some cases, settled there, at least in numbers large enough to have left the very clear records of their presence which modern archæologists have noted. The Illyrian coast itself had ample refuge for those pirates of ancient times whom their unproductive soil drove to the sea, while in Picenum, though there are no harbours, except that of Ancona, there is productive soil which repays the hard-working peasant for the toil that he devotes to his orchards, vineyards,

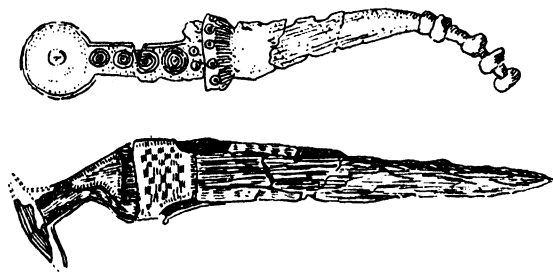


FIG. 100.—Typical Picene Daggers.

and wheat fields. But at sea he is nothing more than a fisherman with small boats such as can readily be beached. The scanty population which the region could have supported in the first half of the last millennium B.C. must have been a ready prey to Illyrian pirates. No doubt there was also some overland trade, with its centre at Trieste or nearby, as we have seen above (p. 253), passing from the Balkan region to the head of the Adriatic and thence to Lombardy and to the east coast of Italy; but the remarkable links between Picenum and Bosnia are better accounted for as due to occasional settlers who came to Italy first as pirates. On the other hand (cf. p. 249 above), in the sixth and following centuries, the same route was followed, in the reverse direction, by the Picene products which were exported to the Golaseccans. Later still a new outlet for

Picene trade was found to the south, especially in Apulia, where Tarentum and the other Greek colonies must have been the source of the Greek objects found at Belmonte and Numana, some of them being carried actually as far north as Histria (Nesazio). Not only these Greek products but also the characteristic Apulian wares make their appearance at such sites as Belmonte.

Picenum was not without its Etruscan and Gaulish invaders. The Etruscan character of the remains found at Fabriano was noticed above (p. 250). The tumulus excavated there has been dated about 670 B.C., and some of its contents are said to show strong likenesses to objects from Falerii, Marsiliana d'Albegna, and Cære. In this connexion it is interesting to recall the name of the deity, worshipped at Asculum, and called *Ancharia*,¹ a name obviously related to, or even identical with a gentile name not uncommon in Etruria and north-eastern Italy.² Filottrano on the other hand, south of Ancona, was occupied by Gauls. Like Montefortino (p. 207) it has yielded treasures of gold and silver ornaments, bronze vases, Gallic weapons and the characteristically Gallic cylindrical vase (*caccabus*). It was one of the most southern outposts of the Senones.³

9. LINGUISTIC REMAINS

Something was said above on page 107 about the peculiar group of southern "East Italic" inscriptions⁴ from the district of Picenum proper. One of their peculiarities is that the lines of the writing run alternately from left to right and right to left, the positions of the letters being both reversed and inverted in the lines written right to left. The alphabet itself is clearly of the same "Chalcid-Etruscan" origin as that of all the other alphabets of ancient Italy (except the Greek and the Phœnician), but shows some features suggestive of direct Greek influence. The language, however, is still an unknown quantity. It is difficult not to believe that it is Indo-European. At least two

¹ Tertullian, *Apol.*, 24, cf. *ad. nat.*, 2, 8.

² Etr. *ancarie*, *ancaria*. It is derived from *ancar* (pl.), meaning "opes" or the like. Cf. Deecke, *Etr. Forsch.*, 6, 1884, p. 144, and recently, Fiesel in *Language*, 11, 1935, p. 125.

³ Cf. Livy, 5, 35, 3.

⁴ *Prae-Italic Dialects*, 11, nos. 348-355.

apparently Indo-European stems in *paterešo* and *materešo* have been identified; and words such as *estas*, *suašs*, *manus*, *esmen*, *sepelen*, *pim*, *reilames* have all the earmarks of good Indo-European formations. Nevertheless, translation is still conjectural, and therefore the classification of the dialect also. The difference, both in script and in language, between these inscriptions and the northern "East Italic" group (see p. 202) is profound, and indeed, anthropologists like Sergi¹ insist that the skeletal remains found at Novilara belonged to an entirely different race from those found at Belmonte Piceno. We are confirmed, therefore, in the suggestion that two distinct traditions are combined in Picenum, culturally and linguistically, as well as ethnically, namely, an ancient one, perhaps of ultimately neolithic origin, and a later one of Histrian or Illyrian origin, this later one being itself subsequently brought under Greek influence. Now if the view that ascribes the northern "East Italic" texts to a very remote and ancient people, affected by Greek influence, is sound, it would be reasonable to ascribe the southern group rather to the Illyrian tradition. For there is in fact one form in one of those inscriptions, namely, in that of Castignano,² near Ascoli Piceno, *meitimum*, which is almost certainly Illyrian; for it occurs in three Illyrian inscriptions.³ Other comparisons, not quite so obvious, between "East Italic" and Illyrian names may be adduced, for example *arsia* (also in the inscription of Castignano) and the Histrian river-name *Arsia*.⁴ At the same time it must be admitted that there are some other linguistic elements represented in the southern "East Italic" inscriptions; thus *apunis* is without doubt Italic (*Aponius*), and *pupunum* Venetic and Italic. However, in view of ancient tradition and modern discovery, it need not be doubted that there actually were Illyrian settlers on the eastern coast of central Italy before 600 B.C. The archæological evidence has been stated already. The written tradition records that Liburnians settled in Picenum and that the Pæligni were Illyrians, and it is confirmed by the occurrence of Illyrian local names and formative elements in central Italy,⁵ for example, the "Dolates

¹ *Italia : le origini*, 1919, pp. 125-127.

² *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, no. 350; cf. *ibid.*, p. 208.

³ *C.I.L.* 3, i, 3364, 3401; II, 4857.

⁴ *Præ-Italic Dialects*, I, pp. 215 f.

⁵ See further *ibid.*, II, pp. 207 f., 632.

Picenes must have been thoroughly broken—by what means we have no knowledge. Certain it is that their national development was cut short, and they were quite inactive during the Samnite wars. Evidently they felt no call to join the Samnites, or any of the enemies of Rome. On the contrary, they allied themselves with the Romans and their independence was not maintained after c. 268 B.C. when Picenum was conquered and only Asculum was left autonomous, at least until the Social War. There is an interesting record of the siege of Asculum, which lasted for several months in 89 B.C., in the large number of inscribed sling-shot which have been found at Ascoli Piceno. Some of them, strangely enough, bear a single word in Venetic script,¹ which perhaps implies that part at least of the munitions used by the besieged or besiegers came from the country of the Veneti. This fact sheds an interesting and novel light on the problem of supplies of munitions of war as it confronted a general in ancient Italy; but the solution in this case seems to have been unusual. In any event it is hardly likely that in the first century B.C. the manufacturers of Venetia would have supplied the enemies of Rome with sling-shot or other weapons.

The place-names of Picenum offer little of special interest in addition to what has been already noted. Several show an *-nt-* formant (e.g. *Truentus*, *Pollentia*, *Tollentinum*) which may be Illyrian (cf. *Tridentum*). *Cunerus* or *Cunarus*, the name of a promontory, is said by Servius to have been also a Ligurian personal name, and in the names of two varieties of Picene vine, *irtiola* and *bannanica*, we may have preserved for us two fragments of the pre-Latin dialect of the district.² The local name *Falerio Picenus* (modern Falerone), the site of which is hardly to be distinguished from that of the Belmonte excavations, must somehow be connected with that of *Falerii*; presumably both stand for older forms with *-s-* like the *Falesia* recorded in Etruria, and hence the Picene name may have been introduced by the Romans themselves and not in itself indicate any historical or other relationship between Picenum and Faliscan territory.

But the Illyrian dialect of Picenum, if Illyrian it be, was not immediately displaced by Latin. Two, the most southerly, of the "East Italic" inscriptions indeed, come not from Picenum

¹ *Prae-Italic Dialects*, i, p. 183.

² *Ibid.*, ii, p. 251.

proper, but from the country of the Marrucini and Pæligni, where, as we shall see in Chapter XII, there were spoken before Latin northern varieties of Oscan, distinct enough to be called Marrucinian and Pælignian. The latter shows at least one peculiarity, namely, the development of a palatal fricative something like a French *j* and arising from an older consonantal-*ǵ* sound, which may have occurred also in the oldest Latin of Picenum (if not arising from the same source), and perhaps even in the Latin of Lucilius (if not of Accius). But there our knowledge of the dialects spoken before Latin in Picenum stops; isolated forms such as *Mircurius*, *magistris* (nom. pl.) do indeed show dialect peculiarities, but they may be found also in other parts of ancient Italy. The writing of a long vowel doubled (e.g. *paastores*) which the Umbrian Accius, born at Pisaurum, is said to have sought to make the official Roman spelling, was no doubt a practice taken from the dialects—it is regular in Oscan and not unknown in other dialects; it was used occasionally in Latin documents even before the time of Accius, and it was eventually abandoned. Whatever native inspiration he may ever have had failed before Greek influence, as it did in other early writers of Italian birth. The Picene civilization, like so many Italic civilizations, paid the penalty for attaining equilibrium by first becoming static and then perishing.

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CHAPTER XI

THE LATINS AND NEIGHBOURING TRIBES

I. BOUNDARIES

THE Augustan division of Italy into *regiones*, the boundaries of which so far have proved often convenient for the purposes of this book, will henceforward no longer serve us so well. For whatever reasons the old cultural and ethnic divisions north of Rome were somewhat closely followed by Augustus, those reasons evidently did not operate south of the city. Perhaps the actual divisions had become far more broken and obscured by the greater volume of traffic and intercourse, by wars, and by foreign influences; perhaps, too, the ancient boundaries themselves had kept to natural frontiers less closely. However that may be, the first *regio* of Augustus comprised not only Latium—in the wider use of the term as including the territory of the Volsci, Hernici, and Aurunci—but also Campania, and thus extended along the west coast from the mouth of the Tiber to the mouth of the Silarus. Rome had its own organization into fourteen *regiones*. Here we shall be concerned only with Latium in its oldest sense, the land of the *Latini*,¹ that is of the people who lived around the flanks of the Alban mount; with outlying tribes such as the *Rutuli*, *Labici*, *Pranestini*, and of course the *Romani* themselves; and with the *Hernici*. It is true even at the date when our written records first begin, that what we call the Latin language, that is the language of Latium, had been diffused among other neighbouring tribes outside the frontiers of Latium proper, as the Marsi, the *Æqui*, the Sabini; and the Falisci, whose speech had always been closely akin to Latin. But

¹ Probably not I. Eu.; for *Λατίνος* was King of the *Τυρρηνοί* (whoever they may have been) in a record at least as old as that preserved by Hesiod, *Theog.*, 1013.

though the inscriptions and glosses and proper names of these and some other tribes do represent a patois that belongs to the Latinian group of dialects rather than to Osco-Umbrian, that fact is not in itself enough to warrant us in including them culturally with the oldest Latini. For there are clear traces, even in their "rustic" Latin, of dialectal peculiarities¹ which suggest, as we should naturally have assumed, that Latin had been superimposed upon dialects which certainly shared some of the features of the Osco-Umbrian group. This is true actually of the dialect of Præneste itself, with its medial *f* in the word *nefrones* (at Lanuvium it was *nebrundines*), and some of the local names of the Latini proper show this same non-Latin feature (e.g. *Tifata*, *Afilæ*, *Æfula*). The dialect of the Volsci, in which we have one inscription of some length, we are bound to reckon in the Osco-Umbrian group, and in fact it belongs more closely to Umbrian than to Oscan. The Aurunci, or as they called themselves, the Ausones (cf. the modern river-name *Ausente*), probably spoke a dialect similar to that of the Volsci, though there is no satisfactory evidence for its classification. But the Hernici, who were the allies of the Latins from very early times, whereas the Volsci were regularly allied with the Æqui, those bitter enemies of Rome, seem never to have spoken a dialect really different from that of their allies, and we shall deal with them together with the Latini; their very name shows a pure Latin initial *h*- as contrasted with the dialect *f*-.²

2. THE OLDEST INHABITANTS

The first inhabitants to occupy this limited Latium, or the site of Rome, in considerable numbers are not older than the beginnings of the iron age. Objects belonging to earlier periods

¹ On the other hand, standard urban Latin also shows some dialectal features which can only have come from one or other of the Osco-Umbrian dialects. The fact is that in a region where the people lived in independent towns and villages there could be no complete or dominant single speech. To independent variations, different degrees of mixture added still others. In Latium and the surrounding regions dialect is, therefore, at best an uncertain guide unless confirmed by other evidence.

² "Marsian" and "Sabine" *berna* "stone" (Paul. ex Fest., p. 222, ed. Lindsay, 1930, *Gloss. Lat.*, vol. iv; cf. Serv., *Aen.*, 7, 684, though the lemma *Hernica saxa* casts doubt on the gloss) is also strictly Latin. I take the word to be cognate with Gr. *χέποιος*.

are found sporadically.¹ These are numerous enough, but they seldom come from actual tombs. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that Latium was settled, though sparsely, in the neolithic and immediately following periods, by the same race as central and northern Italy; and recently there has come to light, not far outside Rome, at Saccopastore on the left bank of the Anio and between it and the via Nomentana, a skull which is confidently assigned to the Neanderthal (palæolithic) type.² But it is idle to attempt to associate any significant part of the population of ancient Rome or Latium with palæolithic man. On the other hand, there was a very large element of the neolithic race that survived into bronze age and early iron age times. These survivors, together with the invading Villanovans, and later the Etruscans, both of whom were doubtless numerically inferior and were in due course absorbed by the people among whom they had come to live, are clearly revealed by the iron age cemeteries of Rome and of the Alban hills, and these three are the only stocks which went to make up the *populus Romanus* and the *Latini* of historical times.

3. "TERREMARE AND ROME"

Much has been written since the first discoveries of *terremare* concerning the derivation of the Latini from the *terremare*-people, and more particularly concerning the similarities between the lay-out of a *terramara* and the plan of a Roman camp. But the similarities are probably more superficial than real, especially when the analogy is pushed so far as to comprehend not only a typical Roman camp, but also Roman town-planning in general (which was ascribed by the ancients themselves unanimously to the Etruscans) and the ancient *urbs* (Roma) *quadrata* (which is indeed roughly a trapezium), not to mention a number of structures in ancient Rome which by some accident show trapezoidal elements, the *carcer Mamertinus*, the *lapis niger*, the pool of Juturna, and the *regia*, all of them in or near the Forum Romanum. Even the "mundus" on the Palatine hill, the delimitation of a "templum" by the augurs, and the term "pontifex" (inter-

¹ Cf. von Duhn, *Gräberkunde*, pp. 30 ff.

² See *Bull. Pal. Ital.*, 49, 1929, pp. 112 f.; cf. Sergi's paper cited in the bibliographical note to this chapter, and the same writer in *Riv. di Antrop.*, 28, 1928-29, pp. 457 ff.

puted as "bridge-builder")¹ have been regarded as furnishing support for the theory that descendants of the *terremare*-people came to occupy Latium. But in fact no *terramara* has ever been discovered in Latium; the view that the iron age settlers of Latium (the "southern Villanovans") were descended from *terremare*-people who had moved south and west has not been proved; and other current theories concerning them admit at best only a very remote relationship between the two groups, so remote as to be almost meaningless. As for the town-planning of an ancient Latin city, it seems more likely that the oldest Latin tradition of which we have any full knowledge owed far more to the Etruscans than to any other people in Italy, being quite distinct from the loose organization (if that term may be used) of the hill-settlements of Italic stocks such as the Volscians and Samnites.² Finally, it was doubtless some fortuitous topographical feature that was responsible for the odd shape of the *carcer Mamertinus* and other trapezoidal structures of Rome which in any event belong to a much later date. Even if we admit, then, that the "southern Villanovans" of Latium, who descended from the north to settle among the remnants of a much more ancient stock going back to neolithic times, were ultimately sprung from the same central European source as the *terremare*-people of a previous age and different region of Italy, we are not obliged to search for, or to accept, fancied links between Latium and the *terremare*-region of the Po valley.

4. "SOUTHERN VILLANOVANS" IN LATIUM

Not that the "southern Villanovans" themselves were very numerous, or that their remains, as known to us, are very extensive. Apart from the site of Rome itself, in the Forum, and apart from a few sites in the Alban hills, there is practically nothing to indicate their former presence. How dubious, then, is the evidence on which various claims have been advanced to identify the Latini, or speakers of Latin, with either "Villanovans" or with *terremare*-folk! It is evident, from the anthropological

¹ On the etymology of this word see Herbig in *K.Z.*, 47, 1916, pp. 211 ff. I have read many later discussions of the etymology, but nothing that is worth quoting.

² See the paper by Saffund cited below, p. 282.

and archæological evidence, that the great bulk of the population was rather much older, going back in fact to neolithic times; the infusion of "Villanovan" blood was very slight, that of *terremare*-people, so far as we can see, nothing or practically nothing at all. The Etruscans, we know, represent a more significant element in the earliest history of Rome and Latium, but no one will ascribe the Latin tongue to them. The quest for the original Latini, the people who introduced and spread the *lingua Latina*, is, in fact, more a linguistic problem than an archæological one. Archæologically speaking, indeed, some investigators have justifiably raised doubts concerning the proper ascription of the Esquiline excavations—whether, that is, they represent survivors of the neolithic people or invaders of the Picene group. Linguistically, however, the question is unimportant, for it cannot be maintained for a moment that either of these people were the ancestors of the Latini in the linguistic sense. It would appear, therefore, that only the "southern Villanovans" are left as the single possible source that can yet be found from which the Latin language might have been brought into Latium. It is very significant, then, that excavation in the region of the Alban hills has revealed one of the two important groups of settlements of "southern Villanovans" in Latium; for the Roman tradition itself gives this very region a more important place even than Rome in the most remote period of Roman history about which it has anything at all to tell. But it would seem to follow that the "southern Villanovans" are an offshoot quite distinct from their northern kinsmen of Umbria, even though springing ultimately from the same stock; for the differences between Latin itself and the Umbrian dialect of Iguvium are too fundamental to allow us to suppose that the early iron age ancestors of Latins and Iguvini alike were identically one and the same people, akin as they undoubtedly were in cultural and also, not so closely, in racial inheritance.

5. ROME: THE ESQUILINE AND THE FORUM

It was of course implied, in what was said above about the early iron age cemeteries of the Esquiline, and it is the fact, that almost all the graves excavated there are inhumation graves. These have yielded material which ranges in date from about

850 B.C. to the sixth century, with very little that is older than the upper date. In general the actual objects are not unlike contemporary remains from southern Etruria, and it is on this ground that the graves may be considered those of Etruscans, or if not of Etruscans, then of very thoroughly Etruscanized "Picenes". There is some reason for believing that Picenes, especially those of Illyrian affinities, did penetrate to Latium and to the west coast of Italy, in the facts that the very common Illyrian formative element in local names, namely *-st-* (cf. p. 166 above) appears in the name *Præneste*, that a tribal name of ancient Latium, *Venetulani*, is itself Illyrian (cf. *Veneti*), like that of the *Corinenses* among the Hirpini, that one tradition makes the *Volsci* Illyrians, that such well-known Roman names as *Varro*, *Drus(s)us*, and *Cato* are Illyrian, and perhaps that the formation of masculine names in *-a* such as *Casca*¹ is Illyrian as well as Etruscan.

In the Forum at Rome the evidence of the material remains is stronger and clearer than on the Esquiline. The celebrated excavations begun there in 1902 by Commendatore Boni uncovered, amongst other things, part of a very ancient cemetery in which the two funerary rites of cremation and inhumation were almost equally distributed. Indeed, one grave actually showed both. But the graves are by no means contemporaneous. The oldest, as is proved by the nature of their contents, go back at least to the beginning of the period Benacci I (see p. 88), and are thus nearly contemporary with the cremation graves of the Alban hills. These oldest graves of the Forum are themselves the cremation graves, thirteen in all, together with three inhumation graves, which thus belong to a period that antedates the Etruscan invasion. Hence it is held that while the cremation graves represent new-comers, that is invading "Villanovans" from the north-east, the inhumation burials are those of the old population which Randall-MacIver has called "Picene". The name is hardly suitable in Rome itself at this or any date. Ancient tradition spoke of "aborigines," a term naturally discarded nowadays, since it is generally interpreted in the sense of autochthonous, in which it would certainly be misleading. In the historians, however, it was regularly employed as a proper name,

¹ See *Am Journ. of Philology*, 50, 1929, p. 207; cf. *Præ-Italic Dialects*, ii, pp. 209, 632. Note that *Sulmo*, a Pœlignian (Picene) place-name, reappears in Latium (Pliny, 3, 68).

and that circumstance, together with the somewhat rare method of formation which the ordinary explanation implies (*ab origine*), suggests that we really have an ancient ethnic name which has been corrupted by popular etymology; and in fact other forms are recorded.¹

Here, then, on the site of Rome, and a few miles south of it, the invading northerners and the "aboriginal" (or neolithic) Italian stock met under conditions of numbers and locality which led, not to the complete inundation of the older people by Villanovan culture, as in Etruria or north of the Apennines, nor to the immediate extinction of the newcomers, but rather to peaceful settlements, in which Villanovans and "aborigines" lived amicably side by side until the entire fusion of the two peoples was achieved; moreover, the most southerly point to which the Villanovans penetrated was to Latium, just about as far as the Alban hills. In consequence the iron age civilization south of the Tiber wears a different look from that to the north. It presents distinctive features inherited from both of its two sources, and while lacking some of the conspicuous marks of the Villanovans it has some that are peculiar to itself.

6. THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS

In particular we may note the very interesting models of dwelling-houses both from Rome and from the Alban hills, though similar ones are also known from southern Etruria. The round hut-urns, for they were used as receptacles for the remains of the cremated body, present the strongest contrast to the standard biconical Villanovan ossuary, and also to the Etruscan cinerary vase covered with a helmet. They evidently represent the round wattle-and-daub huts of the living, crowned with a beamed roof that left open a hole for smoke to escape, as in the later Roman *atrium*, though its rectangular shape recalls that rather of the early oblong Etruscan houses, a bronze model of which has been found at Falerii. The familiar figure of a bird is not unusual among the decorative finials used to ornament the roof-beams. Each hut had a door made in one piece and bolted with a bronze bar. The entire hut-urn was placed together with

¹ *Aberrigines* (Ἀβερριγῖνες, Dion. Hal.), *Bopetiyovoi* (Lycophr.).

other tomb-furnishings in a very large earthenware jar (*dolium*), so that modern authorities speak of *dolio* graves. The special character of the earliest Latian pottery we shall note presently.



FIG. 102.—Hut-Urn (Castel Gandolfo).

suga," "pre-Corinthian" pottery, bronze fibulæ "a navicella," and, last of all, an imported painted Greek lekythos with bands and figures of running dogs. Thus we can trace backwards the occupation

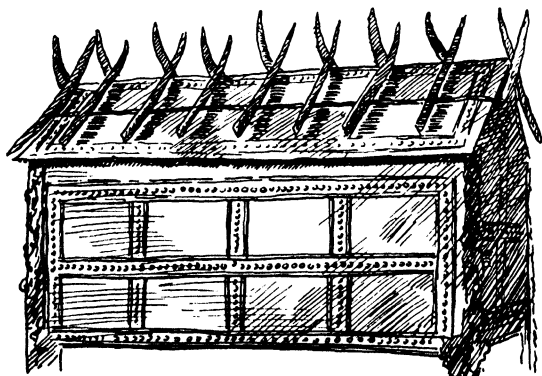


FIG. 103.—Bronze Model of House (Falerii).

of the site of Rome from a date not far from that of the traditional date of the founding of the city, and during a period that lasted for more than three centuries before it, until, still further back,

we reach the point at which the bronze age civilization merged into that of the iron age, although, as we have already observed, there is no clear and certain indication of the bronze age *terre-mare*-culture in Latium itself. Before the close of this long

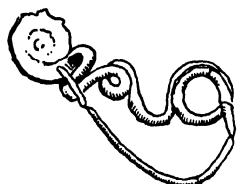


FIG. 104.—Serpentine Fibula (Forum).



FIG. 105.—Bow Fibula (Forum).

interval of time the influence of the Etruscans had begun to make itself felt (cf. pp. 220, 223), and in the end their half-Oriental civilization quite transformed the rude "southern Villanovans" and "aborigines".

The contents of the Forum graves are important for the indications of date which they offer, especially the serpentine and full-bow fibulæ in forms typical of the period Benacci I, or indeed, if reckoned strictly contemporaneous with the Alban specimens, even earlier. The absence of weapons is perhaps merely accidental, but the paucity of orna-

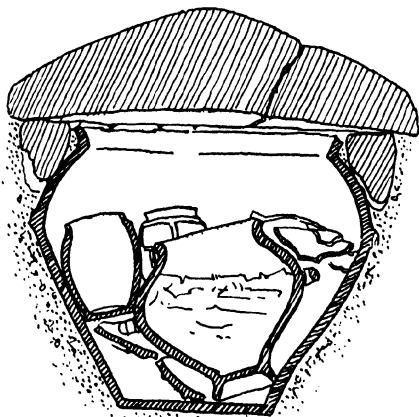


FIG. 106.—Dolio Grave (Forum).

ment (a few pieces of amber, part of a ring, and a couple of bronze pendants in one half the cremation graves) suggests that these early settlers on the site of Rome were anything but well-to-do. As for the regular form of interment, we have seen that for cremations the large jar or *dolio* served as a receptacle for the ossuary and other

vessels, the whole being covered with a large flat slab. The ossuary itself may be either the hut-urn, or some form of pitcher or *olla*. Both in Rome and in the Alban hills, there are instances recorded of the simple pottery jar covered with a lid that evidently was intended to represent the roof of a hut. The pottery accompanying the ossuary is the old rough hand-made Mediterranean ware, ornamented with knobs or ribs, and occasionally with incised geometrical decoration. This ware is distinctive enough to have merited the name Latian, but it also belongs essentially to a variety of pottery found at this date in other parts of Italy. The *dolio*

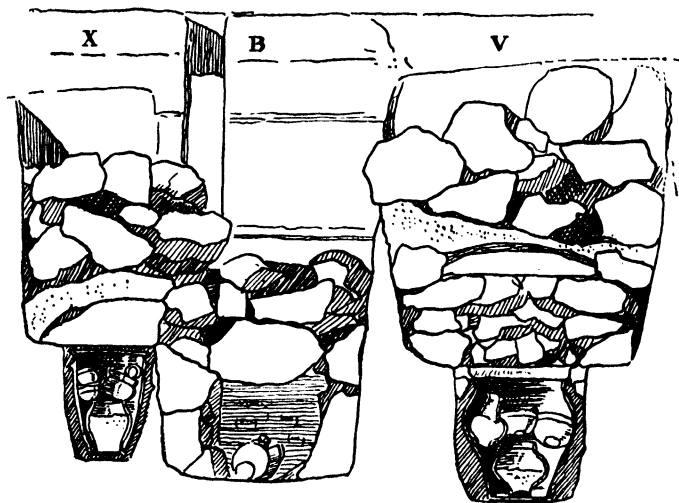


FIG. 107.—Graves in the Forum at Rome.

itself was placed in a circular pit at the bottom of a square or rectangular trench, stones and earth being piled up above the enclosing slab. The inhumation burials, on the other hand, are in stone-lined trenches and distinguished also by the absence of the hut-urn, which was never used, so far as we know, except to receive ashes. There is one feature of the Forum graves to which brief allusion must be made since undue importance has sometimes been attached to it, namely, the fact that in some cases the graves are superimposed so closely that the trenches have actually bisected one another. The actual chronology, however,

of the graves in these cases, as in others, is to be determined by their respective contents, apart from which it is by no means obvious that more than a decade or two need have intervened between the earlier and the later burial. Thus when we find an inhumation grave cutting into a cremation grave, both of them containing archaic material, we are justified in concluding that cremating and inhuming peoples occupied the site of Rome together at the very beginning of the early iron age.

7. THE ALBAN HILLS

The two important sites in the Alban hills are those of Castel Gandolfo and Grottaferrata.¹ Two cemeteries were excavated in 1816 and 1817, at Castel Gandolfo, on the bank of the Alban Lake, those at the spots known as "Il Pascolare" and "Monte Cucco" respectively, and unfortunately the remains of the two have not been kept distinct. The confusion, however, of the objects themselves is not a matter of great moment so far as concerns most of them. But, at the date at which these excavations were made, it was not yet the practice to take careful note of the precise nature of each grave, and hence we have no detailed information concerning the character of the burials. Some of them undoubtedly were of the *dolio*-type, apparently with nothing more than the cinerary urn and pottery and a few other articles contained in the large jar—for example, besides a hut-urn, a number of vases, a brazier, an earthenware lamp in the shape of a boat, and bowls, the ensemble being quite comparable with better-attested groups from Rome or Grottaferrata. True, a few pottery forms of novel type have turned up at Castel Gandolfo, but they are of no special significance. The fibulæ are of the same pattern and age as those discovered in the graves of the Forum, but it is especially noteworthy that iron is completely wanting. For this reason the date of the Castel Gandolfo group of graves is held to be very early in the period Benacci I, or even somewhat earlier. More recent discoveries in the same general locality (San Sebastiano and Campo Fattore) added nothing to previous knowledge.

¹ The site of Palombara Sabina, not far from Tivoli, is less important. Its remains are similar to, and contemporaneous with, those of the Alban hills and of the Forum.

Near Grottaferrata, about half-way on the road to Frascati, two important groups of early iron age graves have been unearthed, at Villa Cavalletti and at the vigna Giusti. These cremation graves are again regularly of the same type, namely, a pit containing a cinerary and other vases, sometimes but not invariably a large *dolio* being first deposited in the pit. Thus the Alban hill cemeteries in every way are most closely similar both to one another and to those of the Forum at Rome. The accompanying objects, fibulæ, pottery, and ornaments bear out this statement, and confirm the conclusion that central Latium and the site of Rome were both occupied by Villanovan settlers very early in the first iron age. The early date is manifest from the occurrence of one or two specimens of the quadrangular razor and of a curved knife of a type made familiar by the Peschiera lake-dwelling which belongs to a still more remote age (cf. p. 76 above).

8. THE SITE OF ROME

It can hardly be doubted that these Villanovan settlers were the ancestors of a substantial element in the population of Rome in the middle of the eighth century B.C., and of contemporary Latium.¹ The observation has frequently been made that all the notable cities of central Italy have a long history behind them, and Rome is no exception. If, as seems likely, the name *Roma* is really taken from that of an Etruscan *gens*, then its history actually goes back some hundreds of years earlier than any settlement of its site called by that name. We may be sure that the secret to the early importance of that site lies in the fact that it represents a focal point for the whole of Italy. Pre-historic traffic passing north and south in western Italy no doubt crossed the Tiber by an ancient ford or ferry very near to that group of primitive settlements which was to become the eternal city, perhaps, as has been conjectured, at a point just below the "insula". It was, then, the possession of the sole crossing of the lower Tiber which can be considered permanent, that became

¹ See the recent discussions by U. Antonielli (*Le origini di Roma alla luce delle scoperte archeologiche*), in Atti. d. primo Congr. naz. di Studi Romani, 1928; and by A. Bartoli (*Il valore storico delle recenti scoperte al Palatino e al Foro*), in Atti d. Società ital. per il progresso d. Scienze, 1932, i, pp. 312 ff.

the decisive factor in the growth of the Roman power. The kernel of this most ancient Rome was doubtless the Palatine hill, whose inhabitants were, in all probability, buried in the valley beneath, where the Forum was afterwards established. The development of a network of roads radiating east as well as north and south from the Rome that had grown out of the ancient trading-post of 1000 B.C. was the work of a later age, not unaided by the Roman genius for organization, but it would have been impossible without the natural advantages of the site. It may well be, as the tradition tells, that the numbers of the Latin cultivators and Villanovan settlers, joined by Etruscan traders and land-owners, and destined presently to be conquered by Etruscan princes, had been augmented by scattered strangers of various tribes from overseas and by outcasts and refugees from other communities in or near Latium. We may suppose that their chief occupations were agricultural and pastoral. The land was by no means unfertile, though largely still uncleared. In fact it was not before the fourth century B.C. that the "campagna" and Latium generally, which in the intervening centuries had become a well-peopled region, with peasant proprietors, kept healthy by careful drainage, began to be depopulated. A great part of the prosperity of the old Latini was based on their careful and productive husbandry. The causes of its decay lie outside our present subject; and we cannot do more than merely notice the revival that is taking place in that region in our own day and bids fair to be exceedingly successful.

9. THE ETRUSCANS AT ROME

The third people to play an important rôle in Rome's early history were the Etruscans. Their coming is actually recorded in our written sources, and definitely if scantily attested archæologically and linguistically.

It is as easy to belittle as it is to exaggerate the extent and importance of the period of Etruscan domination; a more just appreciation of the facts will avoid both these extremes. Here we are not required to estimate its influence on the course of Latin civilization, but only to note the more tangible evidence of the presence of the Etruscans in Rome. It is less in volume

than we might have hoped. Etruscan funerary inscriptions have not been found on Roman soil; but we might have expected to find semi-Etruscanized inscriptions, as we do at Præneste, at Falerii, and at various sites in Campania, districts in which pure Etruscan also can be shown to have been spoken. But a great city, occupied continuously for some three thousand years and still occupied by a large population, a city, moreover, that has been sacked and burnt more than once, is not likely to preserve abundant remains of its earliest days. Almost all of the material traces of the Etruscan occupation no doubt disappeared at the time of the destruction of the city by the Gauls in 390 B.C.

Nevertheless, the remains of two Etruscan graves of the characteristic *camera* type have been discovered in Rome itself, one in the Esquiline cemetery,¹ the other near the tombs of the Scipios to the south-east of the city proper,² outside the *porta Capena* (which, like the *porta Ratumena*, bears an Etruscan name). The so-called "Servian" wall, of which fragments survive, is in part Etruscan work, though it was certainly repaired and reconstructed at a later epoch, notably after the Gallic catastrophe and much of the existing structure is not "Servian". Other building works belonging to the Etruscan period are the Capitoline temple which was intended to house the famous Etruscan triad of divinities, and no doubt contained terra-cotta statues of them, similar to the life-size figures discovered some twenty years ago at Veii, and it was ornamented with terra-cotta antefixes such as are found on Etruscan sites; the drain or *cloaca* through the Forum, the exit of which into the Tiber is still visible; and the original *circus maximus*, perhaps first built of wood, despite the tradition that speaks of it as a stone structure set up by Tarquinius Superbus. Whether or not the Etruscans were the first to use the stone arch and the vault in Italy, the period of splendour inaugurated in Rome by the Etruscan government no doubt led to its greater use there. Other borrowings which Etruscan kings encouraged left their mark on both public and private works in the sphere of art.

¹ See *Bull. Comm. Arch.*, 24, 1896, p. 10; 42, 1914, p. 175. Cf. G. Sâflund, *Le mura di Roma repubblicana*, Uppsala, 1932, pp. 149 f., Fig. 64.

² Discovered by Colini and Muñoz: not yet published

Pliny¹ tells us that wall-paintings, apparently of the Etruscan type, were to be found in Latium at Ardea and Lanuvium, and also that the Etruscan artist Vulca was summoned from Veii to Rome in connexion with the adornment of the Capitoline temple. The famous Capitoline wolf (but not the twins beneath it) is in a style inspired by Etruscan workmanship, but its date is some two and a half centuries later. The *fascēs* of the Roman magistrate are at least as much Etruscan as Roman (cf. p. 215 above); and both in political and military organization, in religion even more, Etruscan influence is manifest.

That the territorial advance of the Etruscans from Veii in southern Etruria and the "ager Faliscus" to Fidenæ, Præneste, and on to Campania, resulted in a cultural advance for central western Italy as a whole, Rome and Latium included, is not to be doubted. The very names of the Latin township *Tusculum*, and of the *vicus Tuscus* in Rome, are explicit testimony to the presence of the Etruscans, no less than the formative elements of the family names of wellnigh every Roman *gens*, whose system of nomenclature was totally different from that of the old Indo-European speaking community that first came to live in Latium. The Latin alphabet itself was taken directly from the Etruscans, who had previously learnt it from the Greeks. So much might have been expected from the tradition that the Romans had Etruscan schoolmasters; it is placed beyond question by the forms of the letters in the oldest Roman alphabet, by the Latin names of those letters, which are really the Etruscan names and not the Greek names, and especially by the Latin usage of the symbols C or < (properly the Greek γ), K and Q (*q*).

10. THE EVIDENCE OF LANGUAGE

But Rome remained a Latin city through two and a half centuries of Etruscan rule, the population was essentially Italic (that is "Mediterranean" with the infusion of northern blood brought by the "Villanovans"), and the language essentially Latin. There are, to be sure, some Etruscan words to be found in it, which, despite their fewness, are significant enough: *amor*, *lanista*, *histrio*, *persona*, *atrium*, *idus*, *mantissa*, *balteum*, *cassis* were

¹ 35, 17 f., 35, 157.

all, it would appear, taken from Etruscan. The metamorphosis undergone by a number of Greek words on their way into Latin, especially the substitution of *t* for *d*, *p* for *b*, *c* for *g*, as in *sporta* (σπυρίδα), *triump(h)us* (θρίαμβος), *catamitus* (Γανυμήδης), the loss of a syllable or two, as in *Pollux* (Πολυδεύκης), the introduction of an aspiration (e.g. *triumphus*), and perhaps even the prehistoric system of accentuation of Latin on the first syllable of the word, thus producing the syncope just mentioned—in all this we have the work of the Etruscan speaker of Latin.¹ It is possible to make claims for Etruscan influence on the Latin of Tusculum, but very little is known of its peculiarities in any event. As for the Latin spoken at Præneste, however, where the record is fuller, both the dialectal and the Latin inscriptions give ample proof, if proof were needed, that as late as the third century B.C. the Latin of Præneste preserved a strong Etruscan flavour.² On the other hand, one of the oldest bits of Latin that we possess, the dedicatory inscription on the famous Prænestine fibula,

manios med fhefhaked numasioi,

though unquestionably it shows features that are not pure Latin, but rather dialectal or rustic, contains nothing that could be considered Etruscan in speech.

But there is a stratum of language, not Indo-European, even older than Etruscan, still to be mentioned. The percentage of words of Indo-European origin is much larger in Latin than it is in Greek. Both languages, however, borrowed something from the speech of the people whom the Indo-European-speaking invaders found already in occupation on their first arrival in the Balkan and Italian peninsulas respectively. Latin shows a certain number of words, chiefly the names of plants or the like, taken from this "Mediterranean" stratum of speech, apparently the sole evidence which may be gleaned from language itself of the survival of the neolithic stock which seems always to have been the main constituent of the population of Italy. They are

¹ Cf. Kretschmer in Gercke-Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. i, ed. 3 (Leipzig and Berlin, 1923), pp. 559 ff.; A. Ernout, *Éléments étrusques du vocabulaire latin* (in Bull. de la Société de Linguistique de Paris, 30, 1930, pp. 82 ff.).

² See *Italic Dialects*, p. 311.

all words such as the new-comers from the north would not be likely to have brought with them, since the name can have been needed only when they came to know for the first time the thing which it denoted. Such words in Latin are: *uinum*, *rosa* (?), *mālum*, *fīcus*, *cupressus*, *anēsūm*, *bāca*, *asinus* (?), *menta*, *calx* (?) "lime," *fungus*, and above all *falx*.¹

II. ROME IN THE EARLY IRON AGE

The subsequent supremacy of Rome should not cause us to forget that in the early iron age Rome was but one of many Latin communities, village settlements occupied by people of the same race and civilization, and also of the same speech, apart, that is, from merely local variations. When the Latin league was closed in or about the year 370 B.C., after which no fresh communities were admitted, it numbered not less than thirty townships,² some of them in earlier days at least as important as Rome. Indeed it is by no means certain that originally the Romans had been included among the tribes that had participated in the annual festival "in monte Albano" in honour of Jupiter Latiaris. But evidently such unity as existed at the remote date to which this ancient tradition ultimately looks back was entirely religious in character, not political. The political development came later. Nor was the Alban group of towns, or "confederacy," if that term may be permitted, the only one that existed in early Latium. At Aricia there was a sanctuary of Diana³ around which a similar but smaller grouping of townships had taken place, and Lavinium,

¹ On the etymologies of these words see Ernout-Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, Paris, 1932, s.vv. For *falx* see also *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, pp. 164, 451.

² Dion. Hal., 5, 61; cf. Pliny, 3, 69, whose list is longer than and otherwise out of harmony with that of Dionysius. As Mommsen suggested, Pliny seems to have named a number of towns which had been disqualified from attending the Alban festival, and of these "many . . . were perhaps the very oldest".

³ In the substantial foreign (that is non-Roman) element in Roman worship there is not a little that came from the Latins (as distinguished from the Romans). Cf. p. 160, n. 3, above, on Juno (at Lanuvium); and note here, in addition to Diana who was at first more at home at Aricia than at Rome, the gradual recognition in official Roman religion of cults, which at various dates had acquired importance in several Latin townships, as Fortuna Primigenia (Præneste), Iuturna (Lavinium), Venus (Ardea), Natio—a rather shadowy figure, Cic., *n.d.*, 3, 47 (Ardea), and also the Greek but thoroughly naturalized Castor and Pollux (Tusculum), and Hercules (Tibur, Præneste).

Tusculum, and other centres seem to have served the same end not later than the sixth century. All of these were absorbed in due course by Rome. But though the very sites of many of the townships were unknown to ancient writers themselves ("interiere sine uestigiis" is Pliny's phrase), so that to us they are mere names, the names themselves are often full of interest and importance. Thus *Vitellenses* at once recalls the confederate coins of the Italic tribes struck in the Social War and bearing the inscription *vitellii* "Italia"; the name *Sicani* in Latium is also significant, and its occurrence in Pliny's list is at any rate not weakened by the variant forms found elsewhere, e.g. *Siculi* (Pliny, 3, 56), *Σικελικόν* (v.l. *Σικελίων*, Dion. Hal., 1, 16). By these two names alone the early Indo-European-speaking people of Latium are linked with their kinsmen throughout the length and breadth of the land of Italy, and in Sicily; while the name *Alba* itself (*Albani*) is not restricted even to Italy.¹

12. THE OLDEST LATIN

There are marked differences between urban and rustic Latin still in the historical period, in sounds (e.g. *losna* "luna," usage (as *tammodo* "on the spot, straightway"), word-forms (as *magistreis* "magistri" n. pl.), or vocabulary (*tongitio* "notio"), and at an earlier date they were probably more profound, for at the date of all except the very earliest Latinian documents, Roman Latin was already being made a standard of comparison and usage by the extension of Roman military and political power. It may be doubted, however, whether the differences were ever completely eradicated. As late as Quintilian's day we find warnings against the use of non-urban words,² and modern Italian dialects reflect not only the popular spoken language as a whole but also local peculiarities which go back in part at least to the rustic Latin³ of Latium outside of Rome. Thus the pre-literary Latin language, known to us chiefly from inscriptions and legal and ritual

¹ See on this name Walde-Hofmann, *Lat. Etym. Wtb.*, Heidelberg, 1930 (in progress), s.v., and Whatmough, *Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol.*, 42, 1931, pp. 144 f.; cf. *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, pp. 180 f., with 1, 357 f. *Cusnetani* (v.l. *Cos-*) seems to find an echo in the *Cosuanetes* of northern Rætia, and *Querquetulani* an even more distant echo in cognate Celtic, Germanic, and Baltic place-names, as well as nearer ones in *Quarqueni* (Histria) and *Quarcerecensis* (Transpadana).

² 1, 5, 56, cf. 8, 1, 3.

³ But in part also to dialect differences.

remains, may be regarded as still little more than a patois. The differences between the Latin of the Forum inscription (fifth century B.C.) and classical Latin are very striking, as may be seen from the following forms in it, which are certain; *recci* "regi," *quoi* "qui," *sakros* "sacer," *iouxmenta* "iumenta," (*d*)*iouestod* "iusto"; or from the opening phrase of the Quirinal vase inscription (fourth century), a curse beginning *iovesat deivos qoi med mitat* "iurat deos qui me mittat . . .". Similarly, the epitaphs of the Scipios, the laws of the Twelve Tables, the Saliar and Arval hymns, and the commemorative inscription of Gaius Diulius—unfortunately these are nearly all more or less "restored" in their existing shape—show forms, which, though doubtless much changed from the speech of the "prisci Latini" of, say, the ninth century B.C., still are closer to Indo-European forms than to classical Latin, e.g. *oino(m)* "unum," *duonos* "bonus," *Gnaiuod* "Gnæo" (abl. sg.), *Lases* "Lares," *Leucesie* "Luceti" (voc. sg., an epithet of Jupiter, apparently with a dialectal assibilation of *-t-* before *-i-*), *prai tet tremonti* "prætrement te," *pilumnoe poploe* "pilumni populi" (n. pl.), *o ieu loderie* (?) "O Iuppiter Liber".¹ In the fragments of early Latin from which these words and phrases have been taken we can trace the first developments towards the norm which the language had acquired by the first century B.C., and which, by standards not really arbitrary, is counted classical; in those same fragments, too, may be detected something of the gravity that is associated with the language and style of Cato and Lucretius, to name only two writers, both of them Roman born, and that at once reflects and is reflected by the restrained, stately, and impressive character of the Roman people who spoke it and whose empire made it a world-language.

13. THE INFLUENCE OF OTHER LANGUAGES UPON LATIN

It was a language, as we have already seen, that derived some elements from the idioms of other peoples of ancient Italy—Gauls and Etruscans, Greeks and Samnites. For this

¹ The text of this last is extremely doubtful: *lodere*, if right, should be pronounced *loupere* or *loundere* (I. Eu. **leudbero-*, Gr. ἐ-λεύθερος, Ven. *lo · u · zera · b-*, Osc. *luufreis*); cf. Hofmann-Leumann, *Lat. Gram.*, ed. 5, 1926-28, p. 132. The relationship of Sabine *Lebasius* "Liber" is a question into which I cannot enter here.

last source of mixture in the Latin language has still to be noted. Not a few elements in the Latin vocabulary are due to it, notably words showing *f* medially, as *rufus* "red-headed" (contrast *ruber* "red" with pure Latin *b*) or *f* initially as in *filum* "thread," beside Latin *ni-hil* "nothing," literally "not a thread"; and *l* for pure Latin *d* as in *lacrima* "tear". It has also been held that the peculiar hodge-podge of six or eight different means of forming non-present or non-continuous tenses which in Latin were fused together into a single perfect tense, and the re-shaping of old "multipersonal" forms in *-r* as the pattern for the creation of a passive voice, were the work of a large non-Latin, namely Samnitic or Sabine, element in the population of Rome such as the traditions of Sabine immigrants and Sabine kings at Rome imply. Finally, if not from Sabine itself, then from some one of the Italic dialects outside the Latinian group were imported words with *p* or *b* for pure Latin *qu* (*q*) or *u* (*g*) as *Pompilius*—(Latin *Quintilius*), *popina* "cook-shop" (contrast *coquo*), *bos* "ox" (instead of **uos*), *lupus* "wolf" (instead of **lucus*). Nor is it unlikely that Rome may have had, even in historical times, a small dialect-speaking enclave for which a "Bauer-Theater" staged, as Strabo declares, Atellan farces in Oscan.

14. THE SPREAD OF LATIN

The story of the widening powers of Rome through central Italy, and with it the spread of the Latin language, lies outside our present subject, and has been told too often before to need repetition here. But we should observe that just as all historical "nations" are produced by the consolidation of tribes, so are all historical languages produced by the consolidation and unification of dialects. The great diversity of the dialects of ancient Italy, with their marked divergence in the most common words as well as in their grammatical material, indicates very clearly that the hordes and tribes which invaded and occupied the land were far from uniform. Here linguistic unification may be observed taking place, before our eyes, accompanied by the political and economic consolidation of Italy under the dominance of Rome; and the evolution of a standard literary language is merely the culmination of the centralizing process.

Nor can we tarry over some of the fascinating aspects which

Latin presents to the student of language—the notoriously conservative features of religious and legal expression. Language is often a most conspicuous mark of nationality, not merely in the outward political sense, but also culturally, and Latin is no exception to the rule. By reason of its twofold character, of insisting on the one hand upon adherence to the form which it imposes, and of permitting change or development on the other, language is both restraining and liberating, not only in social intercourse at a given period, in literature, religion, and the law, but also historically. New forms of expression come only through new concepts, and the cultural content of a language is always adequate to the need of the people who use it. For whenever it is not, then they at once devise the desired means of expression. If a language has not the word to denote a particular concept, that is because the concept itself was lacking. Every reader of Latin is aware at once of the excellences and of the deficiencies of Latin as an instrument of expression, but he should remember that these reflect corresponding qualities in the Roman intellect and character. And for the reader of this book, in the Latin language there is also implicit the long story both of the migration of Indo-European-speaking tribes into Italy and of their settlement in Latium where they contributed not a little to the formation of the people who carried that speech in its new form all over Italy and the greater part of western Europe.

Bibliographical Note.—There are many histories of Rome which give good accounts of the foundation of Rome and of the Latin settlements, reference to which need not be made here. It will be enough to refer to some recent books and monographs which approach the topic more from the same point of view as the present work, together with a few of more general character, dealing with the archæological and linguistic material :

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CHAPTER XII

SAMNIUM AND THE CENTRAL ITALIC TRIBES —CAMPANIA

I. BOUNDARIES

IT is convenient to take together Campania and the central Italic regions because, before the Roman advance into Campania, that district had been overrun by the progeny of the hill-tribes whom the Romans knew collectively as "Sabelli". The early stages in this movement are just outside the beginning of the written history of Italy, and the later ones well within it: Capua was seized by the Sabellians in 445 B.C., and Cumæ seventeen years later. But the grouping of the tribes, the pre-Roman remains of which form the subject of this chapter—and they go back much further than the Sabellian expansion—was quite different from that of the Augustan organization. Campania, with the Aurunci and the Volsci, was included in the first Augustan *regio* (cf. p. 261 above); the Samnites, the Sabines, the Frentani, Marrucini, Marsi, Pæligni, Vestini, and Æqui, together made up the fourth *regio*. These are the districts and tribes which we shall consider here, and also the Hirpini, who belonged to the second Augustan *regio*, but not the Hernici, whom we have already classified with the Latini.

2. THE GROUPING OF THE TRIBES

Culturally the history of these peoples is very diverse and, for some of them, still hardly known in the more remote period. Ethnically they all had a large proportion of the neolithic stock in their inheritance, especially in the lowlands where the Sabelli are a conquering caste that was speedily enough absorbed; the proportion of Villanovan settlers was and remained larger in the hill-country of central Italy, where classical Latin writers

are fond of emphasizing the features in the build, life, and manners of the people that struck the city-dweller forcibly and yet seem to be something more than the mere contrasts between city and country. Linguistically, they all spoke at date at which their written records begin, or had spoken shortly before that date, dialects which belong to the Oscan group, the southern branch of the Osco-Umbrian division of Italic. "Oscan" is the name given to the dialect which the Sabellians introduced into Campania, the land of the *Osci* or *'Οπικοί*, but clearly it was not the original speech of that tribe, and its records are found far outside the borders of Campania. What they had spoken previously we can only conjecture to have been a language probably not closely related to Italic at all, if indeed it was Indo-European; for the Illyrians of eastern Italy never pushed so far south and west in any considerable numbers, and scattered communities of the "Siculi," such as there is reason to believe to have existed all the way south of Latium to the straits, if their dialect actually is to be classified with Latin, rather than with Illyrian,¹ were simply isolated and fragmentary enclaves dotted about in the midst of a population, not in any event a large population, that was almost certainly alien in speech, whether we call them *'Οπικοί*, *Ænotrians*, *Bruttii*, *Χῶνες*, *Morgetes*, *Πελάσγοι*, or *'Ιταλοί*—some of the names which at different times were applied in different parts of south-western Italy. What their own name for themselves was we are not likely ever to know; it is, in fact, very improbable that they ever had a single name to describe themselves as a whole, national or other. They were not organized as a nation and could not have had a national designation; so misleading is it, to apply later ethnic names to these groups of primitive village settlements of pre-Hellenic and pre-Roman Italy. What is important to observe here is that the *Oscæ lingua* was properly Samnite, though the Oscans were not, in the main, Sabelli or Samnites; and that although the Samnites are said to have spoken Oscan, they were not, in any sense or in any degree, Oscans.

¹ Cf. *Pre-Italic Dialects*, ii, p. 439. There is one interesting inscription of the southernmost part of *'Ιταλία* (the country of the Bruttii), neither Oscan nor Messapic, which has to be considered in this connexion. Unhappily it throws little light; cf. p. 112 above.

3. THEIR DIALECTS

We said that all the tribes enumerated above had spoken some variety of Oscan, or some kindred dialect, before the Romans mastered them and imposed Latin as an official language. For the most part the classification is quite simple—the Campanians, Samnites, Hirpini, and Frentani all belonging together as speakers of what we may call “central” Oscan; a “northern” Oscan we find in the records of the Marrucini, Paeligni, and Vestini. The speech of the Volscians was distinguished by peculiarities which compel us to set it apart as a Volscian dialect, and presumably the Aurunci had a similar or very closely related dialect (cf. p. 262 above). But the Sabines, the Marsi, and the Æqui, from the time at which we have any trace of their patois, had already begun to learn Latin, and were rapidly becoming Latinized. The problem is to determine whether they had previously spoken dialects of the Osco-Umbrian group, or rather, like the Faliscans and perhaps the Hernici (p. 262 above), dialects closely allied to Latin. The evidence is scanty and confused, but on the whole it appears most probable that the former is the right classification. As for the Sabines, we have not only names like *Pompilius* (with *p* instead of *qu*), and of *Clausus*¹ (for Claudius), with a southern Oscan, or at all events non-Latin assibilation of *dj*. The only examples of words with *qu* cited from Sabine are misleading; the proper form corresponding to *Quirinus* in Sabine territory was *Curinus* (in Greek *Κυρίνος*, which is decisive), and *tesca*, which is a better spelling than *tesqua*,² has I. Eu. *-ḱu-*, not *-qu-* (cf. *pascua*), thus reminding us of Umbrian *ekvine*; no doubt *Sabini* is the Roman or Latin form of their name, which they themselves must have pronounced with *-f-*, not *-b-*.³ Similarly, in the name of the Æqui it is likely that we have I. Eu. *-ḱu-*, not *-qu-*, at least if the name is connected with Latin *aequus*, uncertain as its etymology is, and if Oscan *aiḱdaḱed*, Umbrian *eitipens*, *eikvasese* are akin, as seems likely. But there is little more to help us except the

¹ Livy, 2, 16, 4, with Conway's note (Livy, Book II, Cambridge, 1910), *ad loc.*

² *Gloss. Lat.*, iv, p. 446.

³ Sabine *ausum*, *cesna*, *fasena*, *fedus*, *fircus*, for pure Latin *aurum*, *cena*, *barena*, *badus*, *bircus*, to mention no other forms, all are closer to Oscan than to Latin. Cf., too, the local names *Farfarus*, *Suffenates*, *Μηφύλα* (if *φ* is a writing for *f*), and a number of personal names with *-f-*.

rather doubtful testimony of personal names like *Alfius*, *Saf(inus?)*, *Saufei*, *Rufentius* which occur in their territory. For the early inscriptions of the district, like those of the Marsi, in general show strong Latinizing tendencies. On the other hand, the name *Marsi* itself (*martses* dat. abl. pl.) shows the non-Latin assimilation again, and in *fouigno* "Fucino" (dat. sg. m.), and *a(n)ctia* "Angitia" (dat. sg. fem.), both also quoted from Marsian inscriptions, we have the syncope¹ so characteristic of Oscan and Umbrian, but not of Latin, while the proper names of the district yield forms with *-f-* such as *Cerfennia*, *Alfenus*, *Alfius*, *Alfidius*.

4. CULTURAL LIMITS AND GROUPING

Thus we have to deal with an expanse of territory stretching from the river Matrinus to the Tifernus on the east coast, and from the Astura to the Silarus on the west, but the northern and southern boundaries jut considerably north and south respectively of lines drawn to join these two pairs (Astura—Matrinus and Tifernus—Silarus) of river mouths. Nor is the cultural boundary so neat. We have seen above, for example, that traces of the Picenes come as far south as the latitude of Monte Gargano (p. 241); on the contrary the southern boundary of the "southern Villanovans" stops short even of Campania—no trace of them has yet been found south of Latium (p. 267 above), and it is not expected that any extensive evidence is likely to be found further south, though we should remember that so far the evidence is negative and actual exploration very slight. It was, however, the later expansion, in the fifth century B.C., of the Sabellian peoples of central Italy, that made a united Greek or Etruscan Italy—even south of the Tiber—finally impossible. The hill-country of the central Apennines, too unproductive to support any large population, sent out as an overflow one *uer sacrum* after another, in general south and west, for the road north and east was blocked by Etruscans and Picenes, until there was an effective barrier of Italic tribes set up to check the further advance of Greek culture northwards. Rome herself was in the main protected from any direct invasion from the Sabellian tribes by her own neighbours, who

¹ Note also the loss of *-n-* before *-ct-*; cf. O.-U. *sahto*—"sanctus".

bore the brunt of the attack in the raids made upon the Latin plain by outlying tribes such as the Æqui. Meanwhile the great mass of the Samnite tribes, untouched by and uninterested in the play and counter-play of the tribes on their borders, and hardly organized at all, for the Samnite confederation was of the loosest sort, remained culturally in a sort of backwater removed from the circle of Campanian and Etruscan influences alike. One of the few sites which have been in some measure explored is that of Aufidena on the River Sangro, and it cannot be detached altogether from the "Picene" group, since it shows inhumation,¹ and Sergi considers that the ancient population of Samnium, a "tipo italico uniforme nei caratteri," belonged to the "Mediterranean" stock.² No wonder if the Samnites, like the Picenes, were fierce warriors, as both the Campanians and the Romans found them to be. Neighbouring sites, such as Castel di Sangro, Colle Ciglio, Barrea, Colle Santa Lucia, Civitella, Villetta, and San Francesco, and even the more distant ones to the south in the district of the Hirpini (with Pentri and Caudini), so far as the very scanty and unsatisfactory evidence enables us to judge (Capracotta, Bouianum vetus Undecimanorum or Pietrabbondante, Æclanum, Atella, Salvatore Telesino, Preto Sant'Angelo, Bucciano, Moiano, Saticula, Benevento, Caiata-Cajazzo) suggest that the remains from Aufidena may be considered as fairly typical of Samnium as a whole, at least until further discoveries are made to supplement our very imperfect knowledge of the district. It is true, of course, that on the Lucanian or Apulian, and Campanian, fringes, isolated finds occur that link up the border-regions, as might be expected, with those adjoining territories, indications no doubt of the rather inconsiderable traffic that went on between communities not too widely separated from one another. And the more imposing but later ruins of Bouianum Vetus, the chief town of the Samnites, where the remains, little more than the ground plan, of a temple and theatre, with three rows of seats of the latter, were laid bare many years ago, tell us little or nothing of the civilization of the older Samnites.

¹ See in general, for further details of the region covered in this chapter, von Duhn, *Graberkunde*, i, pp. 409-412, 521-583, 589-630; and on Aufidena itself Mariani in *Mon. Ant.*, 10, 1901.

² *Italia: le origini*, Turin, 1919, pp. 130 ff.

5. AUFIDENA

At Aufidena the burials are often surrounded by rings of stones, or by slabs of stone set on end, the body being placed

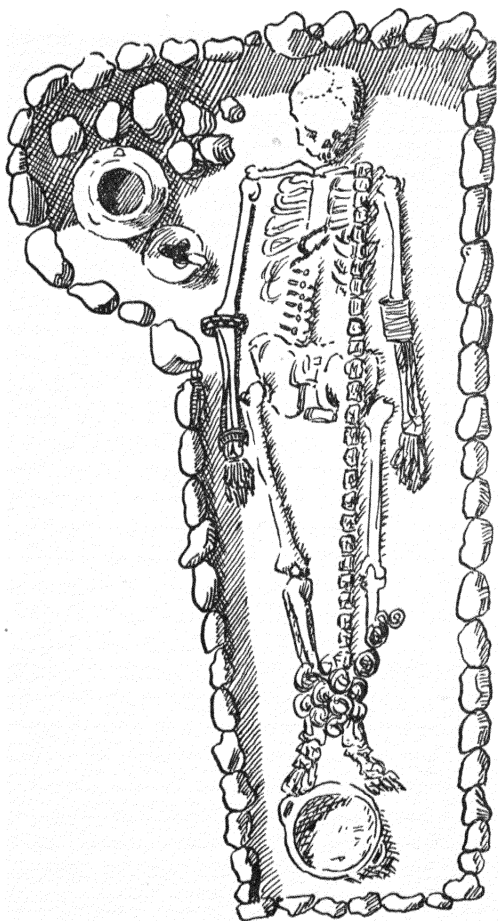


FIG. 108.—Grave at Aufidena.

directly on the earth, or at the most enclosed in wood. It is generally stretched out at full length, sometimes with the legs, or arms, or both crossed, and accompanied by the usual tomb-furniture of vases and weapons. The former are rough local ware—Greek imports are entirely or almost entirely lacking—and not infrequently are set together in a group near the head in a sort of little store-cup-board, as it were, ready to hand. The weapons are no longer so numerous as in Picenum itself:

we have knives, axes, lance-heads, and the short two-edged stabbing sword—all these of iron. Helmets and the round shield are not so common. There are a few quadrangular

"razor" knives—not the half-moon pattern common in Picenum. Sometimes we find a knife placed in a vase at the feet, again, it would appear, part of a meal prepared for the dead. The body was clothed in a woollen or linen wrapper, and furnished with a bronze, leather, or stuff girdle. Ornaments include armlets, rings, neckbands, and (for the women) hair-pins and rings, with a few ornaments of chain-work similar to the Picene type. Fibulæ are, in general, of comparatively late types. In the later graves are found coins, in the mouths of the dead, bearing Oscan inscriptions, chiefly of the Oscan towns Allifæ and Fistelia (*alifa*, *fistelú*); Allifæ stood on the left bank of the Volturnus and Fistelia, the exact site of which is unknown, cannot have been very far away. These coins of Campanian type are about all that we have to show the contact, even of the fifth and fourth century Samnites, with the outside world. The most southern outposts of the Samnites, such as Bouianum Vetus, were hardly occupied by the Sabellian tribes much earlier than the sixth century. Here we have only scattered finds of swords, helmets, axes and the like. Capracotta (the true site of the so-called "Tabula Agnonensis") has yielded stone-lined graves and pottery of the Aufidena type, together with a few specimens of the short sword and iron spear points: and Atella and Æclanum add nothing further.

6. THE FRENTANI, MARSI, MARRUCINI, PÆLIGNI

From the district of the Frentani, in default of steady scientific excavation, there is only the haphazard discovery of peasants to report, and the occasional exploration of single graves (conducted almost single-handed by the late A. de Nino of Sulmona) and hardly anything that is pre-Roman or even older than the fifth century. The sporadic finds from the sites of Lanciano, Casoli, Lama ("dei Peligni"), Palena, and elsewhere, recall the better-known remains of Aufidena and Terni. The pottery, so far as it is not local ware, has some Campanian affinities. Hitherto the evidence, such as it is, would lead us to believe that the population was substantially of the same stock as in Samnium proper. Several sites near Lake Fucino tell us a little about the Marsi. There have been isolated finds of vases

of the Aufidena type, and weapons—spear-heads of iron and the familiar short stabbing sword; and a few graves have been opened. Everything points to connecting the Marsi closely with the Umbro-Sabellians. But here, too, as also in the country of the Marrucini, most of the objects recorded were found by accident and most of them belong to the Roman period. Several so-called “trench” graves at Chieti (Teate) are earlier, but are not to be dated accurately, for want of a more careful description than we possess. They contained, besides the skeletons, remains of swords, spears and other weapons, helmets, shields, and numerous ornaments—arm-bands, and some fibulæ of older types, bronze rings, together with a few specimens of chain-work ornament and glass, and occasionally amber, pendants. No distinction can be drawn between the Samnites of the district of Aufidena and the Pæligni. Here the actual “finds” are more numerous, though still for the most part accidental. A peculiarity of some of the Pælignian graves is that beside the usual stone-lined grave of the Aufidena type there is also an entirely different type, namely, a miniature chamber-tomb, barely lofty enough to admit a crouching position, with an entrance on one side, and to the right of it a low bank or bench for the stretched-out body of the dead. The two most important groups of sites are those adjoining the ancient cities of Sulmo and Corfinium. At Introdacqua we find once more the circle of stones enclosing the graves. Small vases, perhaps used for flowers when the body was prepared for burial, and then interred with it, and also small leaden vessels, both unusual, preserved in the local museums, are said to have been taken from pre-Roman graves, the latter having been set at the feet of the dead.¹ They seem to be peculiar to the Pælignian graves, and with them we may mention the tiny iron vases (about 3 inches in height) that were suspended, it is presumed, from chain-work ornaments, since they are regularly found on the breast. But otherwise the remains are similar to those of Aufidena, and it will be enough here to mention a few other sites, simply observing that dialect-inscriptions are found at several of them, and that external products of almost every kind are conspicuously absent—

¹ von Duhn, 1, pp. 371 f.

Etruscan as well as Greek. Pentima, Raiano, Vittorito, Rocca-casale (all round about Corfinium), Castelvechio Subequo,¹ Molina, Goriano Siculi, Pettorano, from all of which single graves containing the usual kind of weapons, ornaments and other grave furniture, while they confirm the conclusions already set forth as to the cultural relationships of the Pæligni, have revealed nothing new or unexpected.

7. THE VESTINI

Only a single strip of territory in the country of the Vestini has so far given any indication of a pre-Roman population. This runs along the valley of the Aternus and its inflowing tributaries. One site outside this strip is also to be mentioned—that of Civitella Casanova. As contrasted with the Marucini and Frentani, whose country also reached down to the Adriatic coast, the Vestini seem to have been in contact with sources of Greek imports (Apulian ware), or at any rate able to trade for them, as their southern neighbours were not.

8. THE SABINI AND ÆQUI

Returning west once more, we come to the land of the Sabini and of the Æqui, bordering Latium to the north and north-east, and really encroaching upon it beyond the later political frontiers, and, as von Duhn has observed, more or less immune from external influences from the west until well into the Roman period itself, though a bronze "cista" from Fano, and occasional pieces of bronze plates, ornamented with flowers or drawings of animals, suggest Etruscan work. Once more, too, we have to be content with very meagre evidence, generally unearthed by accident. Broadly speaking, however, we may say that there is a close relationship with the peoples of the mountainous parts of central Italy as a whole. Naturally on the frontiers of the Sabini we do find remains pointing to Etruscan or Faliscan or Latin incursions, as at Poggio Sommavilla, where not only an Etruscan inscription but also specimens of "proto-Etruscan" ware have come to light, while

¹ Cf. *Præ-Italic Dialects*, no. 355.

the native ware is characteristically Faliscan in style; or at Magliano Sabino, where the graves are said to have shown Etruscan features. Camerata and San Pelino (near Albe, the ancient Alba Fucens) in the country of the Æqui, bear some testimony, however slight, to settlements of the inhuming pre-Roman Sabellians. There is some trace, on the other hand, of settlements, clearly not very extensive, of cremating peoples in the country of the Volsci, their very southernmost extension, as we have seen (p. 286), namely, at Velletri, at Caracupa, not far from Norba, and at Satricum, which stood a short distance from the Astura. But these were succeeded by the Volsci proper, an inhuming group, who pushed their way down to the sea from central Italy south of the Alban hills, and whose graves are found at the very same sites, beginning about the seventh century, and for a time the two methods of disposing of the dead continue side by side.

9. CAMPANIA

But the latest Sabellians to establish themselves on the western coast of Italy found a flourishing Greco-Etruscan civilization there before them, which they were ready enough to absorb. It was predominantly a Greek civilization, indeed, with few permanent traces of the Etruscan occupation, perhaps the most important being the derivation of the Oscan alphabet from the primitive Chalcid-Etruscan writing of Campania. Although what used to be taken for granted may be questioned, namely, the assumption that the Etruscans only learnt this alphabet on their arrival in Campania, there is no doubt that it is a script closely related to the western Greek alphabet of the Chalcidian colonies. And in fact Cumæ occupies the first place in the district, surrounding the bay of Naples, from which comes the material for our knowledge of the early history of Campania. The available evidence is neither very extensive nor altogether of a satisfactory character. It comes chiefly from private excavations or accidental discoveries; for the material obtained from the systematic government excavations carried on at such sites as Pompeii relates chiefly to much later periods. However, of the forty-two pre-Hellenic graves that have been opened at

Cumæ, thirty-six were actually discovered during the official excavations conducted after 1902, subsequent to private excavations that had been taking place for about a decade. Even at Cumæ itself by far the larger number of the graves are subsequent in date to the Greek settlement there.

10. CUMÆ

Now the actual date of that Greek settlement has been the subject of much dispute. The tradition which puts it at 1050 B.C. is of no great importance taken alone, especially since it is in conflict with the traditional dates of the founding of the earliest Greek colonies in Sicily, which are some three centuries later. Nor is it by any means clear, as some have held, that the archaeological evidence favours this early date. There are two points to be considered, the dating, that is, of the materials found in the pre-Hellenic graves, and of those found in the oldest of the Hellenic graves. It must be admitted that some of the fibulæ from the pre-Hellenic graves are of quite early types which are to be found at the very beginning of the early iron age, notably the thick-bow type, the two-eyed serpentine, and the disc-fibula. But, as Randall-MacIver has argued, in Sicily, where both the thickened-bow fibula and the two-eyed serpentine are common, and where our comparisons of Campanian material should be made, rather than with north or central Italian, of these two types of fibulæ at least the latter survived in use from the eleventh to the sixth century, and there is no reason to suppose that at Cumæ also it had not a long range of time. On the other hand, the long-shanked bow fibula which appears in Sicily in the third Siculan period (about the ninth and eighth centuries), where it replaces the thickened-bow type, is wanting from the pre-Greek Cumæan graves. Again the disc-fibulæ at Cumæ suggest an early date, for there is nothing to show that they may have continued to be made or used there as late as the eighth century, even if we agree that the materials found associated with the Cumæan thickened-bow fibulæ, especially Egyptian imports (or objects copied from Egyptian work)—fayence figures, a scarab, and a gold plaque—prove conclusively a late date for that type of fibula in Campania. The disc-fibulæ include one specimen of pre-Etruscan type, and

there are also some fibulæ of unusual patterns, one of them (Fig. 109A) peculiar to Campania and found in the same grave with the pre-Etruscan disc-fibula. From all this the conclusion would seem to be indicated that a few at any rate of the Cumæan graves are quite old, perhaps of the tenth or eleventh century B.C., but that Gàbrici was hardly justified in placing them all between 1200 and 1000 B.C.; rather we should say that taken altogether they cover a considerable span of time, ranging from the late

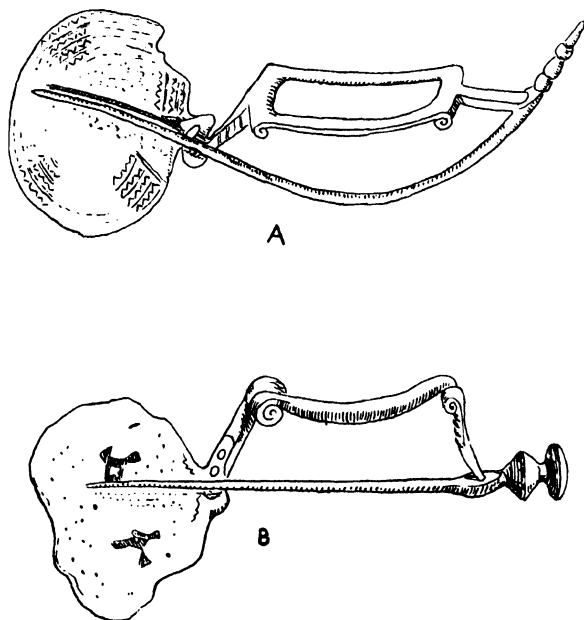


FIG. 109.—Fibulæ from pre-Hellenic Graves at Cumæ.

eleventh or early tenth century down to the eighth, the majority belonging to the later centuries within this period. We shall see presently that the Greek graves themselves do not go back beyond the beginning of the eighth century. Some of the more interesting objects found in the pre-Greek graves may be mentioned here: there is a bronze leaf-shaped dagger, a number of quadrangular bronze "razors" (similar to Sicilian, not north-Italian, patterns), fragments of bronze chain-work and pendants,

a single torque, glazed and amber bead necklaces. The pottery is largely the black ware that has come to be called "Mediterranean," in part not unlike that of Latium, though also showing some distinctive forms. The reader will have observed that some of these objects, notably the bronze chain-work, which is really quite similar in type, suggest a certain connexion here, no less than in the Volscian district, between Cumæ and Picenum, just as at a slightly later date (cf. p. 253 above) Picenum was subject to Ionic Greek influence through Campania. There may be, therefore, a grain of truth in the tradition of Illyrian settlements in the northern parts of Campania, and there are very remarkable traces of mutual influence of the oldest scripts of Picenum and Campania upon one another.¹ But in general Campania was out of touch at this date with central and northern Italy; it looked much more to Sicily and the Ægean for trade and external stimulus.

II. OTHER CAMPANIAN SITES

Besides the excavations at Cumæ we may turn to the tombs that have been explored at Striano, San Marzano, and San Valentino, all in the valley of the Sarno which enters the bay of Naples south of Pompeii.

There is also a certain amount of material collected in a haphazard way from various sites not accurately known. The Sarno graves are on the whole later than the Cumæan, being in fact nearly all contemporary with the first Greek colony there. The pottery is in part of the Chalcidian type, and therefore belongs to the seventh century B.C., in part comparable to simple painted geometric ware

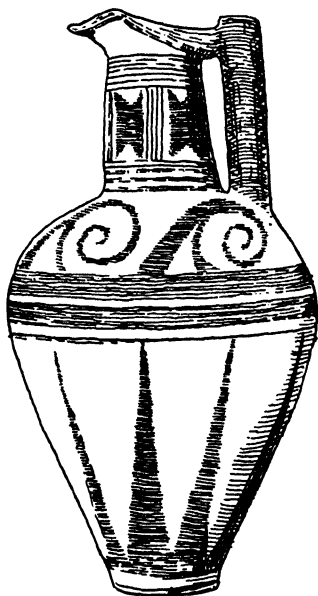


FIG. 110.—Oinochoe from San Valentino.

¹ *Præ-Italic Dialects*, ii, p. 527.

such as is found at Cumæ, in part black "Mediterranean" ware of various types ranging from those of pre-Hellenic Cumæ to later forms of the seventh century that occur at San Marzano in company with a two-handled bucchero cup of exactly the same pattern that comes from Etruscan tombs of Regolini-Galassi date. Again there is an indication of contact with the Adriatic coast in a fibula with four-fold spiral. The random "finds" from Capua and Suessula add nothing of interest apart from a few fibulæ of archaic types, now at Capua and presumably all found there or not far away.

12. THE ARTIACO TOMB

Returning to Cumæ we must now note a grave discovered there in 1902 that contained mainly Etruscan material, but is anterior to the domination of Campania by Etruscans which started with their "foundation" of Capua at the beginning of the sixth century B.C. This "Artiaco tomb" as it is called from the estate on which it was found belongs very clearly and very closely with the more famous Etruscan Regolini-Galassi, Bernardini and Barberini tombs (see p. 220 above)—it was a cremation-burial, and its contents are remarkably similar to theirs. Two suggestions have been advanced to account for it, that it is the tomb either of a Greek colonist who had somehow acquired Etruscan furniture, just as isolated pieces of jewelry of

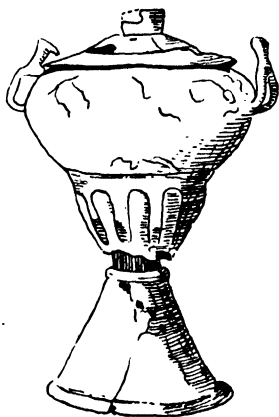


FIG. 111.—Bronze Stand and Basin from the Artiaco Tomb.

Etruscan workmanship are found in seventh-century Greek graves, or else of an Etruscan commercial agent who would naturally have his native equipment buried with him. The bronze basins and stand, the small silver ossuary of hemispherical shape, the iron sword of a type found also at Vetulonia, Corneto, and Narce, and the gold and silver ornaments, the fibulæ, and comb-shaped buckles are all definitely of Etruscan pattern and to be compared with similar objects from Marsiliana, Falerii, and other Etruscan

sites, and especially from the Regolini-Galassi group of tombs. A few objects are Greek rather than Etruscan, but they only confirm the impression that not only were the Etruscans and Greeks actively engaged in commerce on the Campanian coast in the early seventh century, but also that their relations at this date were remarkably peaceable. It is more than a century later that the great struggle between them comes.

13. THE GREEKS IN CAMPANIA

There is no reason for separating the indigenous population of Campania from the same stock, of neolithic origin, that we have found to be the substantial element of the population of ancient Italy as a whole. In particular there is no trace whatever of "Villanovan" peoples settled among them as there is, sporadically enough to be sure, among the Volscians. The coming of the Sabellians or Safines, with their "Oscan" dialect, is far later, in the fifth century, and, as we have just seen, the Etruscan conquest dates only from the sixth century. Nor is the occasional indication of a mere trickle of Adriatic influences of any moment. Far more important in the period intervening between pre-Hellenic and Etruscan Campania is the tide of Greek influence from the Ægean that had begun to set in by the middle of the eighth century or a little later. It is first observed in the early Greek graves at Cumæ, the dating of which is of some importance for the bearing which it has on the immediately preceding pre-Greek graves (cf. p. 293); for if the oldest of the Greek graves are of the tenth century, as Gâbrici maintained, then the pre-Hellenic remains would be correspondingly older, and the evidence is on the whole contrary to that conclusion.

The graves of the earliest Greek colonists at Cumæ are important chiefly for their pottery, which is called "Chalcidian,"

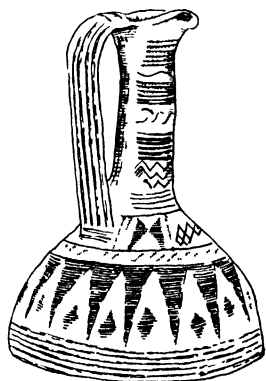


FIG. 112 — Painted Geometric Vase from Cumæ

though there is nothing as yet to show that it, or its prototypes, actually came from Eubœa. Starting with simple linear and geometric designs, the ornamentation gradually passes to a more elaborate style with birds, flowers, animals and fishes. The commonest shapes are neither numerous nor novel—large oinochoæ, and “lekkythoi”; to which we may add a long-necked jar with a hemispherical base, which is new. These were all made on the wheel, of fine red clay, covered with a green, yellow, or buff slip, on which the designs are painted in black. The important fact, however, about this pottery, is that exactly similar ware turns up in Etruria, at Cære, Vulci, and Corneto, but not in the intervening territory. Two further matters of some importance emerge from this: first, that these wares were not exported from Cumæ to Etruria overland, but either they were manufactured independently in both places, though copied from identical Greek models, or else Etruscan importers continued to bring them from Greece or from a Cumæan factory, in that case transporting them by sea. And second the chronological dispute may be set at rest by the evidence of the Etruscan tombs, which surely confirms Randall-MacIver’s argument that the Cumæan material of the Greek graves does not go back further than 700 B.C., or at the earliest a generation or two more. He finds support for this dating in the internal evidence of the graves, and he has effectively disposed of Gàbrici’s arguments for two distinctive styles of pottery, an earlier of the ninth or eighth century, which is really very sparsely represented, and a later of the seventh, by pointing out not only that the very scanty material which is superficially reminiscent of an older Græco-Siculan tradition all comes from a single grave, but also that this tradition itself was long-lived and that there is no actual basis for making any chronological distinction between that one grave and the rest, much less for making its contents, thus arbitrarily segregated, a criterion for dating the contents of sixty other graves which taken by themselves would be dated to the seventh century. We may acquiesce therefore, in the view that Greek Cumæ began its existence about 740 B.C.

But the Greek civilization of the late eighth and early seventh centuries was merely a prelude to the magnificent and luxurious Hellenism of subsequent centuries which made southern Italy

part of a greater Greece overseas. In sculpture, architecture, painting and the other arts the Greeks were for long the masters of the Italic tribes among whom they had made their homes. No one who has seen the ruins of the Greek temples at Pesto on the Campanian coast, the wall-paintings from Nola, Capua, Pesto, and elsewhere, now preserved in the museum at Naples, or any of the countless specimens of the classical schools of Greek art that flourished in southern Italy from the sixth century onwards can doubt that for many generations the entire region was more Greek than Italic in culture. Most of the early contacts of Rome with Greek civilization were in Italy itself, especially in Campania, and there is some reason for believing that the Romans learnt to call the Hellenes *Græci* there rather than in the neighbourhood of Tarentum.¹ These contacts have left their mark on the native languages of Italy, not only on Latin, in many borrowings, more or less completely Latinized, the very character of which is significant—terms of commerce (*dracuma*, *trutina*) and of shipping (*gubernare*, *ancora*), plant-names (*oleum*, *oliva*),² the very name of the *theatre* (*theatrum*, cf. *scæna*), technical terms such as *philosophia*, *machina* (this last must have come from a Doric colony, perhaps Tarentum, or from an Æolic), even legal terms (e.g. *poena*), and many others,³ but also upon Oscan, e.g. *thesaurúm* (θησαυρός), *kúiniks* (χοῖνιξ), not to mention many divine names or epithets, some of them borrowed by both Latin and Oscan, e.g. *herekleís* (an *o*-stem), *Hercules*, *piístiaí* (πίστιος), *evklúí* (εὐκόλος or εὐκλῆς, an epithet of Hermes in southern Italy), *meellikiieís* (μευλίχιος). Indeed some of the Greek loan-words in Latin seem to have entered the borrowing speech not directly but through the medium of Oscan or some other native dialect of Italy,⁴ and there are a few enclaves of Greek-speaking

¹ *Præ-Italic Dialects*, ii, p. 261.

² These two words, *oliva* and *oleum*, have an interesting history that proves they must have been borrowed into Italy in the shape ἐλαί(Φ)ᾱ, ἐλαι(Φ)ον, presumably about the seventh century, and the Gothic loan-word (*alw*), which must have come from Italy, suggests a rustic Latin pronunciation (with neither *ai*, nor *i*, but *ē* in the second syllable).

³ See O. Weise, *Die griechischen Wörter im Latein*, Leipzig, 1882; Saalfeld, *Tensaurus Italo-græcus*, Vienna, 1884.

⁴ *Ital. Dial.*, i, p. 227, Schwering, *Indogerm. Forschungen*, 30, 1912, pp. 220 ff.; 32, 1913, pp. 364 ff.; cf. *Præ-Italic Dialects*, ii, pp. 428 ff., 472 ff.

southern Italians surviving to this day whose Greek may well be an inheritance from pre-Latin times.¹

14. THE TRADITION

With these written records we are on the verge of, or within, the period of the traditional history of Campania. In its broad outlines it is not in conflict with what archæology and philology tell us. Thus Strabo² is substantially right when he speaks of the inhabitants of the Sarno valley as successively "Oscans," Etruscans with "Pelasgians," and Samnites, if in his tradition "Oscans" means the indigenous population of Campania, as well it might (cf. p. 284 above), and if by "Pelasgians" we are to understand Greeks. For this sequence is exactly what the archæological evidence reveals—first the pre-Hellenic remains, then the Greek settlements with the Etruscan, though the evidence for the Etruscans is more linguistic than archæological, and last the Samnites, who says Strabo were "expelled" by the Romans—by which is meant that the local Samnite aristocracy of the Campanian cities was made subservient to Roman direction and control, being tempted away from it from time to time, as during the second Punic War, and again at the time of the Italian revolt, but finally reduced once more. Sometimes instead of "Oscans" the tradition speaks of "Ausones," as for example at Nola,³ where they were subdued by the Etruscans, but both of these terms seem to refer indifferently to the indigenous population and there is no useful distinction that we can draw between them. In historical times the Ausones (or in Latin the Aurunci) are confined to a strip of territory between the rivers Liris and Volturnus, but in Greek writers "Ausonia" means Campania and Latium generally. As was pointed out on a previous page (p. 262), it is probable that before the spread of Latin their dialect was closely akin to Volscian. The Volsci themselves (*Οὐολούσκοι*) we have seen good reason to connect with the Sabellian tribes of central Italy, but we should not overlook the tradition⁴ that makes their name Illyrian, especially since it seems to have con-

¹ See on this question the works of Rohlf's cited on pp. 306, 354 below.

² 5, 4, 8, p. 247 C. ³ Hekat. ap. Steph. Byz. ⁴ Serv., *Æn.* 11, 842.

firmation from additional sources,¹ though other explanations have been advanced to explain the name.²

15. THE REMAINS OF OSCAN

As for Etruscan documents, beside the famous stele of Santa Maria di Capua Vetere, which runs to some three hundred words and is the longest Etruscan inscription extant and by no means among the later ones (it belongs to the sixth or fifth century B.C.), we have a hundred or so vase-inscriptions of mixed Etrusco-Campanian character, from Nola, Capua, Saticulà, and Suessula, and some of the Oscan inscriptions show marked Etruscan features.³ Far more interesting, however, because more numerous, more varied in content, more widely distributed, and, in general, well understood, are the Oscan inscriptions. These and other records, as local and personal names, and glosses in ancient writers, manifestly of the same dialect, have been found not only in Campania and in the territory of the Sabellian tribes, but still further south, in northern Apulia, in Lucania, in the country of the Bruttii, and even in the north-eastern angle of Sicily at Messina, which was seized by the Campanian Mamertines in 289 B.C. Until the Roman advance gradually replaced it by Latin—important stages in that advance are marked not so much by the three Samnite wars as by the destruction of Capua in 211 B.C., and the Social War of 91-89 B.C.—Oscan held its place as a language in recognized official and educated usage side by side with Latin and Greek. The poet Ennius is said to have known all three languages (Gellius, 17, 17, 1), and, as we have noted before, if Strabo may be trusted (5, p. 233 C.), the rude

¹ *Volso* (Histria), *Præ-Italic Dialects*, 1, IV C.; cf. *Volsimus*, the name of an Illyrian King, Paul. ex Fest., p. 328 (*Gloss. Lat.*, IV, 1930).

² Kiepert, *Alt. Geogr.*, p. 437, compared *Ἐλιονκοί*, the name of a Ligurian tribe (cf. *Præ-Italic Dialects*, 1, p. 367) living in a marshy district on the Ligurian coast, and hence perhaps Greek *ἔλος* "marsh". But the Pomptine region was by no means the deserted marshy district before the depopulation of the fourth century B.C. that it has remained ever since—until quite recently. And a better comparison may be with the name of the Etruscan warrior *feluskes* (C.I.E. 5213).

³ Most of these inscriptions are given in *Italic Dialects*, 1, pp. 94 ff., II, pp. 524 ff., cf. Weege, F., *Vasculorum Campanorum inscriptiones Italicae*, Bonn, 1906. On the Etruscans in Pompeii see A. Bœthius in *Symbola Danielsson dicata*, Uppsala, 1932, pp. 1 ff.

farcies or puppet-shows introduced from the Oscan town Atella were actually produced at Rome in Oscan. The latest Oscan inscriptions, the Pompeian *graffiti*, were written shortly before the eruption of Vesuvius which overwhelmed Pompeii in A.D. 79, and it is probable that the dialect, which has left its mark on modern south Italian dialects, survived in remote country districts as a local patois for some time longer. None of the Oscan inscriptions, on the other hand, is older than the fifth century B.C.

Most of them are carefully, almost phonetically, written in an alphabet adapted, with certain modifications necessary to fit it to the Oscan dialect, from the Etruscan script; a few of the southern group, including all those from Sicily, are in the Greek, and some from Lucania and elsewhere are in the rustic or colonial Latin alphabet. Over two hundred and fifty in number, the majority are quite short; nevertheless, they furnish material adequate to give us a fairly complete conspectus of the dialect, and they add much to our knowledge of the life of the Italic peoples which would otherwise be completely unknown. About two-thirds of them come from Campania itself, and most of those from Capua and Pompeii.

In content they fall mostly into the following classes: (1) official documents—municipal regulations (Bantia), a treaty (between Nola and Abella), inscriptions relating to public works (Pompeii and elsewhere); (2) religious—an inventory of statues and altars in a sacred grove not far from Agnone (Samnium), the very interesting group of heraldic *ovilæ* from Capua, which record or prescribe special annual ceremonies connected with family-worship, and numerous simple votive and dedicatory inscriptions; (3) military and election announcements (from Pompeii); (4) private documents—epitaphs (these are singularly few in number compared with the proportions in Etruscan or Greek or Latin inscriptions), bricks inscribed with names, and (from Campania) a few belonging to the interesting group of curses, inscribed on lead and deposited in tombs; (5) coin legends.

Oscan shares with the other Italic dialects many peculiarities which distinguish them from Latin in sound-changes, word-forms, and in vocabulary; in syntax the differences are much

less marked. But it also possesses certain features which distinguish it among the Italic dialects themselves. Most of these are illustrated in the specimen of Oscan text (Plate 11). The dialect-features which have most clearly survived into modern Italian are the phenomena of medial *-f-* in words like *tartufo* and *-nn-* for *-nd-* (Neapolitan *unni* "eleven"); but Oscan and Umbrian together show perhaps a dozen characteristics in which they anticipate later Romance changes,¹ and in some of the Italian dialects the agreement is very striking, as in Neapolitan *attrufe* "October," suggesting an Oscan **obtufri* which would be regular enough.²

We saw in a previous chapter (p. 244) that there was a serious problem presented by the fact that an Italic dialect, closely akin to Umbrian, was spoken, if not introduced, by tribes whose ancestors in the early iron age inhumed instead of cremating their dead, and that the problem also involved in a measure the Picenes (though they spoke neither Oscan nor Umbrian) as well as the Sabellian tribes. To recapitulate here very briefly, we may say that there are two opposing theories, (1) that invaders who came from central Europe, bringing their Italic speech with them, nevertheless had adopted the practice of inhumation so very early as never to show anything else (von Duhn's inhuming "Italic"); and (2) that an indigenous people, who had always inhumed their dead, adopted a new (Italic) speech, which we call Oscan, and this theory, on the whole, is preferable. As for the Picenes, it was simply a question of whether we had to deal with an indigenous inhuming people, or an invading inhuming people (once more, the so-called inhuming "Italic"); for their dialect is in no sense Italic, and its classification is still too problematical to affect either way the classification of the people themselves, or of their culture. But the fact that these Picenes, who did not speak an Italic dialect, are involved in the same problem as the Sabellian tribes who did, is clearly in favour of the second theory.

¹ E.g. Umb. *muisto* "mugitum" like Ital. *venti* "viginti", *destro-* "dexter" like Ital. *destro*; *jesna* "cena" like Ital. in the initial sound; *zicolom* "dies" like *giorno*; *Bansa* "Bantia" like *nazione*; *muta* "multa" like Fr. *autre*.

² See further von Planta, *Gram.*, 1, pp. 38 f.; Ribezzo, *Reliquie italiche nei dialetti dell'Italia meridionale* (in Atti d. R. Acc. di Arch., Lett., e Bell. Arti, N.S. 1, 1908-9, pp. 151 ff.).

16. ROMANIZATION AND THE INFLUENCE OF CAMPANIA ON ROME

The devastation of Campania during the Second Punic War finally cut short an independent civilization which had begun, if not to fail, at least to be overshadowed by the growing power of Rome until the victory of Sulla at the Colline gate (82 B.C.) in the final great struggle with the last representatives of the old Italic tribes destroyed for ever any remaining chance that the tongue spoken by the people who had given the Romans the hardest fight for the leadership of Italy might yet become the language of Italy. Though we are never likely to have certainty, and though the matter has been much disputed, it has been plausibly held that there was once an Oscan literature, or at any rate the makings of an Oscan literature.¹ What cannot be questioned is that conditions for the rise of a native literature were no less favourable than at Rome; that Campania gave to Rome one of her greatest writers of the peculiarly Italic genre, the *satura*, namely Lucilius—perhaps also one of her early dramatists, though it is not certain that Nævius “*plenus superbix Campanæ*” was actually a Campanian; that the Campanians, down to the time of the Hannibalic war, had possessed a civilization superior to that of Rome at the same date; and that their language, no mere patois, was then spoken over a far wider area than Latin. It would be fantastic to search for dialect or Italic traits in later Latin writers, but we may recall that the Sabine clans produced Sallust and Varro, and that the Pæignian Sulmo was the birth-place of Ovid. The Latin spoken by an old Roman lady, born about 150 B.C., evidently had for Cicero² something of the flavour of the Umbrian-born Plautus and of the “Campanian” Nævius, and it would be a mistake to deny entirely the influence of the dialect-areas on the destiny of Latin letters. At the very lowest estimate the standards of Republican Latin orthography set up at different times owed not a little to Campanian practice, and it is hardly credible that early writers of Latin who imposed those

¹ Mommsen held this view. It has been attacked recently by Goidànich, who holds that the Romans were pre-eminent in commercial and economic development, and that cultural progress proceeded from Rome to the Italic tribes; but he goes too far in his argument to be convincing.

² *de orat.*, 3, 45.

practices brought nothing else with them from the same source ; while it goes without saying that Greek literary models, no less than Greek gods, were acclimatized in Italy through Magna Græcia long before they were in Rome, and long before Rome began to borrow directly from Greece proper. Herakles, indeed, was so transformed that the theory was once seriously held, that Hercules is not the Greek demi-god at all, but an ancient Italic divinity of the farm and homestead ! Even though that theory is no longer accepted, the debt of Roman Italy to the Sabellian tribes is not lessened ; they still have as much as ever to contribute to our understanding of the language and institutions of Rome herself.

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CHAPTER XIII

APULIA AND CALABRIA

I. BOUNDARIES

TAKEN together the two ancient districts of Calabria—the heel of Italy, south of a line drawn from Tarentum to Gnathia (Fasano) north of Brundisium—and of Apulia make up the modern Puglie and, roughly, the second *regio* of Augustus. It is a territory which we may conveniently consider altogether, with its three subdivisions—culturally speaking—of Daunia, Peucetia, and Messapia. On the north the Augustan boundary was the river Tifernus, north of the promontory of Monte Gargano. Hence the Augustan region included territory which belonged culturally to the southernmost Picenes and Sabellians, as we saw in the last chapter. So, too, under the Augustan organization, the second region included also the Hirpini, who likewise are to be assigned properly to the Sabellian tribes. At the beginning of the historical period, at least, there is no doubt so far as the Apuli are concerned; they were an Italic tribe, as is proved by their local and personal names, their coin-legends, and by the fact that they regularly allied themselves with the Samnites, and the same is true of the Hirpini. But the landward boundaries are at best rather shadowy, like the boundaries separating the several tribes reckoned in this long extent of territory as a whole. Thus it is doubtful whether Bantia, and therefore one of the longest Oscan inscriptions, belongs to Apulia (the district of the Peucetii) or to Lucania—we shall count it Apulian, following the best ancient and modern authorities, but doubts of this kind are, as it happens, not very serious for our purposes, and even Horace (*Sat.*, 2, 1, 34) could not place Venusia. Again where the Apuli shaded off into the Daunii and they into the

Peucetii is doubtful. The southern part of the *regio secunda*, generally called Calabria¹ by the Romans, was usually called Messapia or Iapygia by the Greeks. The Messapii lived round about Taranto, and the Calabri proper further east, round about Brindisi, and the Sallentini in the lower part of the heel. Iapyges, a name which at once recalls the Illyrian *Iapuzkum* (cf. p. 258 above) and *Iapodes*, seems to be the most comprehensive name for all these tribes taken together, but they early lost their ethnic unity—a national unity probably they never had—and were split up into smaller units among which the Greeks of Tarentum were best acquainted with that of the Messapii, their nearest neighbours. Hence like them we know the dialect of the entire region as Messapic; a better name would be Iapygian. The outposts of the Iapyges seem to have pushed at one time even as far as Sybaris or Thurii and Croton.²

2. IAPYGES, SICELS, AND THE ILLYRIANS

The links which connect this south-eastern fraction of Italy with the Balkan regions on the one hand, and with Sicily on the other, during the neolithic and bronze ages, have been noted in a previous chapter.³ There can be no question that there was a considerable migration from the eastern side of the Adriatic across to south-eastern Italy, and perhaps on into south-western Italy and Sicily, before the beginning of the early iron age. We shall see presently that the Messapic or Iapygian dialect has the strongest affinities with the remnants of speech that we call Illyrian, and there is some question whether ancient Sicel, spoken in Sicily, ought not now to be considered as belonging to the same group rather than to Latin, as has been the

¹ The name may be an echo of an Etruscan sojourn in southern Italy, cf. *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, p. 267, cf. p. 540. *Daunus* gives the local form of a name which is represented in Latin by *Faunus*.

² See, in general, *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, pp. 258 ff.; for a Messapic Sybaris near Lecce, *ibid.*, p. 367; and for the recent attempts to locate the site of the Sybaris in the west near Thurii see U. Kahrstedt, *Nach. d. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, Ph.-Hist. Kl., 1931, pp. 279 ff.; *Atti della R. Acc. di Arch., Lett., e B. A. di Napoli*, XII, 1931-32, pt. II (1930), pp. 1 ff., cf. the review by U. Zanotti-Bianco in *Arch. Stor. per la Calabria e la Lucania*, 2, 1932, pp. 283 ff.

³ See pp. 58-80 above, with the two important works of Mayer, cited on p. 93; and see also von Duhn, *Graberkunde*, I, pp. 37 ff.

custom hitherto. Probably, then, the speakers of Messapic in historical times, are the descendants of much older invaders, though it is difficult to fix the date, even approximately, of their arrival in Italy. There may well have been several successive invasions, the Daunii and Peucetii being perhaps the last arrivals and entrenching themselves on the frontiers of the Messapii and Calabri. The Sicels of the mainland in the early iron age seem to have gone thither, as we shall see, from Sicily, not those of Sicily, as the tradition tells, from South Italy. But the movement across the Adriatic from the Balkan regions to the low-lying and exposed south-east coast of Italy was certainly completed by the tenth or ninth centuries B.C., and its beginnings may well go back some five hundred years or more before that date. Archæologically Apulia is still almost a complete blank in the four centuries between c. 1100 and 700 B.C. After the latter date and before and during the period of Greek colonization, there is now ample evidence to illustrate the development of a local civilization, which falls into three subdivisions made on the basis of three schools of pottery. They correspond roughly to the tribal divisions of the Messapii (with the Calabri and Sallentini), the Peucetii, and the Daunii. Taken together they also may be called "Iapygian". The Greeks played a much smaller part in this development than the histories of Greece, in their chapters on Greek colonization, would lead one to suppose; and, in fact, Greek colonization itself was not so important a factor in the early history of the region as is commonly believed. The well-known red-figured Apulian fabrics of the Hellenic period, like the coins of Apulian towns, based on Greek types, and other "finds" from sites around Bari, Ruvo, and Fasano, serve to illustrate the advance of Greek culture from the littoral into the inland regions by the fourth century B.C., and the alphabet of the Messapic inscriptions, the oldest of which may be dated from the fifth century, was a Greek (Tarentine-Ionic) alphabet. There was, however, in the entire territory, but one thoroughly Greek city-state, namely, Tarentum. Except from this city, Calabria was exposed to Greek influences only from a few coastal settlements—Callipolis, Satyrion, and the "portus Tarentinus" (all of them founded by Tarentum itself), and Hydruntum. It is between the beginning of the

early iron age, then, and the Hellenizing period, that the three local civilizations of Daunia, Peucetia, and Messapia, were developed.

3. APULIAN POTTERY

The native Apulian geometric pottery, the chief basis for our knowledge of these civilizations, begins to appear in remains of the first half of the seventh century B.C., the Peucetian coming first in date, then the Daunian, and last the Messapian. Its influence extended, as we have seen, through imports, to Picenum and even to Campania (at Suessula); something like it is also found in Histria. It would seem that the descendants of the Illyrians of southern Italy long remained in touch not only with the Balkan region, but also with the descendants of other Illyrians in Italy further north, or at least with the people among whom these last had settled. There is also at Canosa, a peculiar late style, just as in the same district there is a peculiar linguistic situation. The relative chronology of these several schools has nothing to do with the migrations from Illyrian regions, but is purely a matter of the dates of development of the respective styles and of the influence of various outside factors, notably of Corinthian models. Randall-MacIver has rightly emphasized the more than half indigenous character of the Apulian geometric wares of the seventh and following centuries. For chronological and other reasons it is not a survival of wares either Mycenaean in origin, or Sicilian (of the early bronze age), as has been suggested; but, in the main, due to local native initiative, directed and moulded in considerable measure by Greek inspiration, clearly Corinthian in the case of the Peucetian wares, but derived from more than one part of Greece in the Daunian, and perhaps Rhodian in the Messapian. Yet it will not do to deny outright, as Randall-MacIver seems inclined to do, the strong probability of Illyrian or Balkan affinities. Some of the earliest wares of the Daunian region, notably the early iron age pottery of geometric style from Coppa Nevigata, prove conclusively that there were trans-Adriatic contacts between Apulia and Epirus in the tenth century, and there is no ground for denying their possibility both before and after that date, even if it is not yet clearly proved that the Peucetian

miniature stone barrows are to be connected with the tumuli of Histria, a view which in itself is *a priori* very attractive.¹

The Daunian wares, or wares of Daunian type, found in Histria, in Picenum, and in Campania are indeed, more likely to be due to importation, and the copying of imports, "offshoots of the Daunian school," than to a source of inspiration common alike to Histria, Picenum, and Daunian. But it was hardly an accident that they found a ready market in Histria and in Picenum. As for Campania, there is reason to believe that bands of Daunians settled there (and in Latium) in early times.²

4. THE BEGINNING OF THE IRON AGE

Intervening between the remote period of Molfetta and Matera and the point at which our continuous information of Apulia begins again about 700 B.C., comes an isolated group of archaic pottery that turned up in 1880 in the Borgo Nuovo at Taranto, which is all that has yet been discovered to bridge the gap of four centuries in which Apulia was developing its own early iron age culture, independently of Villanovans, who never penetrated so far south, and of Etruscans, who, if any of them landed in this region before passing on to the west coast of Italy, then did not stay long enough to leave any trace of their presence. The Borgo Nuovo pottery was not found "in situ" in graves, but had been re-interred *en masse* after having been brought together, it is entirely unknown when, from graves, which, it may be presumed, had been opened nearby during previous building operations. It falls into two classes: (1) plain dark-grey and black ware, which is entirely undecorated, is unquestionably very archaic and is no doubt connected with the hand-made black pottery common all over Italy at the beginning of the early iron age, and not to be referred specifically

¹ The Peucetian barrows should, of course, be dissociated entirely from the modern stone dwellings, known as *truddi* or *trulli*, at Alberobello and other places in Apulia. For popular accounts of these, which are easily explained by the abundance of loose stone that cumbers the ground in this region, see an article called "the Beehive dwellings of Apulia," *Antiquity*, 6, 1932, pp. 407 ff., or the article "the Stone Beehive Homes of the Italian Heel" in the *National Geographic Magazine*, 57, 1930, pp. 229 ff. They remind one, if of anything, of the prehistoric *nuraghe* of Sardinia (cf. p. 368).

² See *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, p. 268.

either to Latian and Campanian styles, or to the south Italian bronze age ware of Timmari and Scoglio del Tonno, but is simply the widespread primitive black pottery; and (2) painted



FIG. 113.—Painted Pottery from Taranto (Borgo Nuovo).

pottery, cups, jugs, water-jars, and craters, made on the wheel from purified clay and painted with dark-brown or black to reddish colours in simple and archaic geometrical patterns. Both of these groups belong to the very beginning of the iron age—they are almost of the bronze age style. The second group unmistakably suggests eastern Mediterranean influence. Of the same general date, though

quite distinct in style, is the late pottery from Coppa Nevigata, a site of which the history runs back to neolithic times (cf. p. 80 above), mere fragments, which point rather to Epirote influence.

5. PEUCETIAN GRAVES

To the seventh or eighth centuries B.C. are assigned the miniature round barrows of stones already mentioned. These are found chiefly in Peucetia. The stones were piled up to a height of about a metre over the skeleton (the body having been deposited on the earth, or in a shallow grave of stone slabs set on edge), and measure five to nine metres across. They are totally different from the stone tombs which we shall have to notice presently. They contain besides various metal objects, bronze pendants, armlets, and fibulæ, on which the dating is based, fragments of plain rough monochrome pottery and of a painted geometrical ware. But the Peucetian tombs of tufa or limestone are not only distinct in style, but also later. In both the burials are by inhumation—in south-eastern Italy occasional instances of cremation can be neither Villanovan nor Etruscan, but are doubtless to be taken as evidence of Greek settlers. The sixth and fifth century burials, then, are regularly

in a stone-lined trench, or even a properly fashioned sarcophagus, though both are often rather short, since the dead were usually buried in the contracted position, knees bent, as in neolithic days. Most of the tombs have been plundered long before the archæologist hears of them, some in quite distant times, and not a few more recently. A common fate, in fact, of ancient Messapic tombs is to be turned into water-cisterns, and more than one inscribed tomb has been so used. As a result there is little or no evidence to enable us to determine to what racial group the Iapygians belonged; round about the promontory of Gargano the Mediterranean race seems to predominate.¹ In the fourth century in Daunia, especially around Canusium, are found magnificent chamber tombs, family vaults, which had very elaborate tomb-furniture, especially the well-known late Apulian amphoræ and craters such as the famous Darius vase. Such a tomb discovered near Fasano, in the ruins of the ancient Gnathia, had three connecting chambers, the walls of which were adorned with frescoes—a round shield, with a fine head in the centre enclosed in bands of colour and a wreath of oak leaves and acorns; above it, also in fresco, is a Messapic text,² giving the name of the dead man and of his father:

dazihonas platorrihi bollihi

that is "Dasionis Platorii (sc. sepulcrum), Bullii (filii), (the tomb) of Dasion Platorius (son) of Bullius". The same tomb contained another painting, a male figure clothed in a short red tunic, drawn in above the hips by a broad girdle, and with a yellow cloak lined in blue draped from the shoulders. These tombs of wealthy families, like the aristocratic and powerful Dasii of Brindisi who opposed the Romans during the Hannibalic conflict,³ are sometimes approached by a short corridor and flight of steps. They are eloquent testimony to the wealth and independence of the Messapians whom neither Greeks nor Romans ever completely assimilated. The Peucetian tomb-groups are of special interest in connexion with the Peucetian pottery, the oldest of the three styles, which may now be described briefly in turn.

¹ Sergi, *Italia: le origini*, p. 189

² *Præ-Italic Dialects*, ii, no. 381.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 266, 272.

6. THE NATIVE WARES DESCRIBED

The boundary between the Daunii and the Peucetii is uncertain; it may be conveniently fixed at the Aufidus, though Canusium, to the south of that river, is counted by the same authority¹ who names the Aufidus as the frontier, to be Daunian, and so we shall reckon it. Their southern boundary, separating them from the Messapii, touched the east coast just south of Gnathia (Fasano), the ruins of which have yielded many stone-lined Messapic tombs, as well as sarcophagi and the chamber-tombs noted above, a large number of vases, and a considerable number of Messapic inscriptions, and then ran across the neck of the Calabrian peninsula to a point just west of Tarentum. The Daunii extended north from the Aufidus to Monte Gargano.

(1) *Peucetian (Central Apulian) geometric pottery and tomb-groups*; c. 650 to 500 B.C. Here two styles are distinguished.

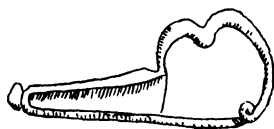


FIG. 114.—Apulian Silver Fibula.

First we have, from a number of sites in the neighbourhood of Bari (Ceglie, Valenzano, Canneto, Noicattaro, Barletta, Rutigliano) a series of wares painted in black on a white slip, standard forms such as craters, stamnoi, oinochoai, with comparatively simple designs based upon a few motives, the so-called "comb"—really a sequence of bars and bands—the swastika, cross-hatched lozenges, a circle, a festoon arrangement, a square meander, and, last, a "Maltese" cross. From the occurrence of this variety of pottery together with late seventh-century Corinthian bronzes and vases, it is assigned itself to the same date and is thought to last a century or more; a few sherds of coloured pottery from Putignano seem to ante-date the full effect of Corinthian influence, but are otherwise unimportant. The tomb, containing a crater in this style, opened at Bari in 1913 also held, among other objects, an iron spear and a two-handled Corinthian bowl. Similarly the Turi grave (near Conversano) yielded Corinthian ware, and also an amber necklace, an ivory fibula, and two silver fibulae of the

¹ Plin., 3, 104; cf. 3, 103.

characteristic Apulian double-bow type which may be considered to belong to the sixth century or even a little earlier. From other graves we have learnt further to recognize a short iron sword of definitely Apulian workmanship and provenance. Most important is one of the Noicattaro tombs, a short sarcophagus not quite one and a half metres in length. Among the objects buried in or beside it were typical specimens of Peucetian pottery of our first class, and in addition a number of bronzes

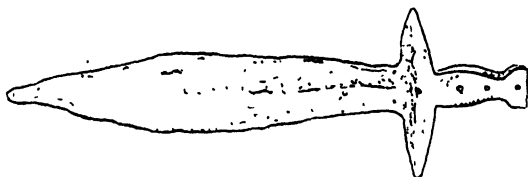


FIG 115.—Apulian Iron Sword.

of more than ordinary interest—a round shield ornamented in repoussé, a bronze plaque divided into panels showing repoussé scenes from Greek mythology, and a very handsome girdle. These bronzes are counted pure Corinthian work by their discoverer, and assigned to the seventh century B.C.

Second there is an entirely different style of pottery known from the excavations at Monte Sannace near Gioia del Colle. This is red and black in contrast to the black and white of the other class. Of the familiar

motives the “comb” is retained, but not the “Maltese” cross, swastika, or lozenge; triangles and circles take their place in popularity, the triangle often being used as the basis on which to build up a highly



FIG. 116.—Ornamentation on Peucetian Crater.

conventionalized human figure. Corinthian influence is manifest, however, here, too, in the extensive use of loops and meanders, and of griffin-like figures, evidently copied from the winged griffin common on early Corinthian craters, but the pottery none the less is fundamentally native in conception. The Apulian double-bow fibula is again present with it, and, as would naturally be expected, actual Corinthian wares, a bronze helmet of

Corinthian type, like the Basilicata helmet with a Messapic inscription,¹ and amber, glass, or paste beads. The Monte Sannace group of objects, taken altogether, run from about 650 B.C. to 550 B.C. or later.

(2) *Daunian geometric pottery*; c. 600 to 450 B.C.² The remarkable early north Apulian (or Daunian) wares have been found chiefly at Ruvo (Rubi) and Canosa (Canusium), but specimens also come from numerous other sites stretching all the way from Lucera to Bitonto, the latter really well over the true frontier and therefore in Peucetian territory. But there is no mistaking Daunian wares with their fantastic patterns and bizarre decoration, quite different from the more sober Peucetian style. From Canosa comes a peculiar type of double bowl,

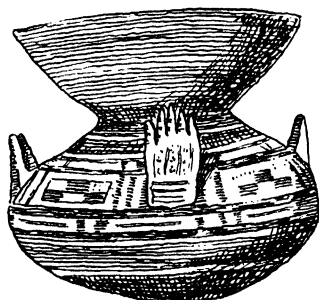


FIG. 117.—Daunian Double Bowl
(Canosa).

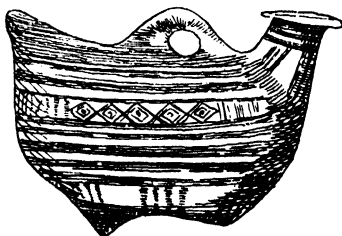


FIG. 118.—Daunian Askos from
Ascoli-Satriano.

developed no doubt from a single bowl the wide splayed brim of which has been exaggerated into a second bowl resting on and joined to the original bowl beneath. These have sometimes not only side-handles but also additional ones of extraordinary shapes—a cat-like face, or a thumbless human hand, no doubt both of them developed from older and simpler patterns. This type of vase, which is representative of both the full and the late Canosa phases, belongs to the fifth and fourth centuries; in the sixth century there is simply the lower bowl with a wide brim, that is, a round-bottomed crater, with

¹ *Præ-Italic Dialects*, ii, no. 392.

² "Late Canosan" mentioned below, is of course later, fourth and third centuries.

or without foot, such as occurs also, and even earlier, at Novilara in Picenum. The askos, sometimes fashioned on a very large scale, two-handled bowls, cups with tall side-handles, are also common, all of them (except the large craters) made by hand. Finally there are the astonishing vases which have been variously known as lanterns or as ritual vases. These last hardly lend themselves to description. The figure will give some idea of their grotesque and barbaric character. This vase is painted in black (or dark violet) and red on a yellow background.

Around the rim is a row of animals (wild sheep?), and again on the base, where they are placed within a "half-moon" or "mountain" motive. The rest of the decoration is geometric, except on the curious human figure that rises from the side opposite the spout, with the upright handle between. It is a "female figure moulded in the round, exhibiting what is probably the ceremonial dress of a priestess or a



FIG. 119.—Daunian Ritual Vase.

woman of important rank. Around the brow is a high fillet, and long plaits of hair hang down on the shoulders; the ears are covered each with a circular disc. A long pendant ornament of circular discs hangs down in front, and there are indications of a necklace, composed of three separate strands. Over the eyes is a black mask which comes down to the nose. The dress consists of two parts, a jacket and a skirt which seems to be gathered into plaits. It has been suggested that the painted circles on the cheeks may be intended to represent tatooing"—this description

is taken from Randall-MacIver,¹ who adds that the whole recalls rather Peruvian than Italian work. In other specimens, instead of the human figure we find "a sort of serpent's neck with a bird's head like some strange antediluvian creature".

Less striking, but more typical, are the bowls with geometrical ornament, the lozenge or triangle, squares and oblongs, the hanging trapezium (as in Picenum), the swastika, checker-board patterns and the like, arranged in circular concentric bands, or (in the case of the trapezium for example), occupying an open field.

The "ritual" vases, with the great mass of the Peucetian pottery, belong to the fifth century, as is proved by objects found with them, especially the Greek pottery and the fibulæ with long catch-points ending in a knob. The craters that are comparable with Novilaran geometric ware, on the other hand, must go back a full century earlier, and thus the limits of date for the Peucetian ware are broadly about 600 to about 450 B.C.

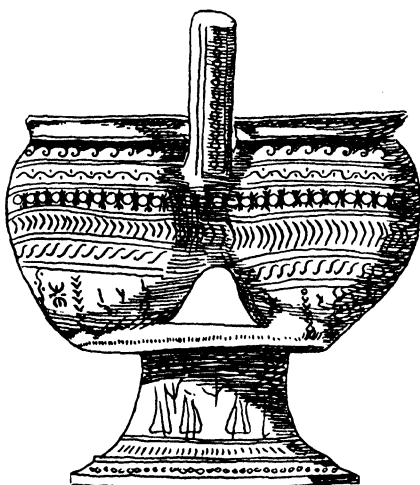


FIG. 120.—Inscribed Canosan Double Situla.

But there is also to be considered a group of later wares, of the fourth and third centuries (c. 350-200 B.C.) that is found also at Canosa (Canusium); the dates are determined from the Greek wares found in the same tombs, and from the style and sculptured architectural detail of the tombs themselves. It is a hybrid school of mixed Apulian and Greek styles. Canusium was in fact, as Horace reminds us,² a meeting-place of several currents of speech

¹ *Iron Age*, p. 217.

² *Sat.*, i, 10, 30. Cf. *Præ-Italic Dialects*, ii, p. 273.

—certainly of Greek and Messapic, though its Messapic inscriptions are far from pure, and probably also of Oscan and even of Gaulish, long before Latin came there. The Latin inscriptions of the district, in which Græcisms are frequent, well illustrate the remark of Horace. There seems to have been an artistic revival at Canosa in the fourth century, when this centre distributed its manufactures widely, and received imports from as distant places as Alexandria in return. Its inhabitants evidently acquired considerable wealth and their great chamber-tombs were constructed to hold large quantities of tomb-furniture, especially the well-known enormous vases, polychrome terra-cottas surmounted by

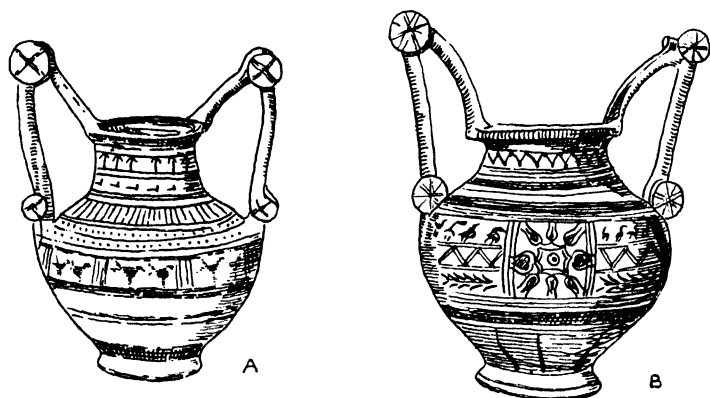


FIG. 121.—“Vasi a trozella.”

figures of Niobe or Hermes and the like, or with centaurs and cupids attached at the side.

Representative of the late-Canosan geometric ware is the double situla illustrated in the figure, which also bears the mixed Messapo-Greek inscription

αFυλ γαν δαζουv

three names (abbreviated), one of which at least is characteristically Messapic (*δαζουv*)—perhaps two. Other patterns include triple and multiple vases, askoi with one or more spouts, tall column-like pieces rather like candlesticks, and “two-storied” vessels perhaps imitated from the earlier Daunian style. The decoration, however, is taken directly from contemporary Greek

potters—meanders, vine-leaves, egg-patterns, curving honey-suckle or palmetto designs, herring-bone patterns, broken chains and the like, all of it *Canusino more* as Horace might have said.

Finally we have (3) the *Messapian* or *Southern Apulian geometric pottery* (c. 500 to c. 350 B.C.), of which the most distinctive style is the “vaso a trozella,” a long-necked spherical jar, with high handles terminating at the top and bottom in wheel-like discs. Not a few of our Messapic inscriptions are found on just such vases. Though quite distinct from the late Canosan, it is, like it, a mixed style, with clear indications of the old native geometrical tradition overlaid, already in the fifth century, to which and the succeeding century this style belongs, by strong Greek influences. Since Rugge and Torre d'Egnazia, the chief sources of the vases “a trozella” are said both to have received Rhodian colonists, it is easy to see that Greek elements might readily enter into their manufacture, and the decoration is indeed mainly of Greek origin, notably from Ionic sources.

7. THE MESSAPIC DIALECT

Turning now to the linguistic remains of the *Iapyges* as a whole—Daunii, Peucetii, Mesapii, Calabri, and Sallentini—we may say without hesitation that they point very clearly to the conclusion, first propounded by Helbig, that this people spoke a dialect, and themselves probably were for the most part, of Illyrian origin. The evidence of the proper names of the region is overwhelming. Again and again we find names, local, ethnic, and personal, which can only have come into this part of Italy from the opposite side of the Adriatic. There is nothing in the remains of the Messapic dialect itself that is inconsistent with that view. Moreover, there is an ancient tradition which asserts the Illyrian origin at least of the Daunii, just as the eponymous Iapyx, Daunus, and Peucetius are said to have been Illyrians.¹

¹ *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, pp. 260 ff. For the Daunii see especially Paul. ex Fest., ed. Lindsay (*Gloss. Lat.*, IV), p. 178. On *Messapus* (from whom Ennius claimed descent), a name which no less than *Daunus* and even *Tarentum* itself, also turns up on the west coast of Italy, see *Arch. f. Religionswissenschaft*, 29, 1931, 22 ff. (Altheim), *Philol. Wochenschrift*, 52, 1932, pp. 430 ff. (Lamer), and *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, p. 428. *Peucetius* is probably a Græcized form of a name which in Messapic would have been **peuketides* (**pao-*, **po-*), if it is connected with Greek πεύκη, as is quite likely, it may have referred originally to forests of resinous trees. The deforestation of Apulia has taken place since ancient times.

The proper names, of which the Messapic inscriptions chiefly consist—they are nearly all epitaphs—find their congeners in Illyricum, not in Italy, or in the Venetic inscriptions, which we have already seen reason to consider fundamentally Illyrian. Both Messapic and Illyrian belong to the same western (or *centum*) branch of the Indo-European languages—modern Albanian being probably a descendant not of ancient Illyrian, but rather of Thracian. Messapic forms, as we should expect from its geographical position, a linguistic link between Greek and Italic; like Venetic, it has a middle voice, but no augment, and some of its features recall the western Greek dialects. Again, as we should expect if it came down from the northern Balkans, it shows some features which connect it with the Indo-European languages of northern and central Europe, notably with Germanic.¹

Inscriptions in the Messapic, or as I should now prefer to call it, the Iapygian dialect, are found all the way from Lucera in northern Apulia to the very tip of the heel, the Capo di Santa Maria di Leuca. But the great majority of them are from the portion of Apulia south of Taranto and Brindisi. Besides the very numerous gravestones with epitaphs, we have a few public documents, one of especial interest containing regulations, it would appear, for the collection of revenue from communities near Brundisium and for its disposition; several votive inscriptions, and a large number of vase-inscriptions and coin-legends. There are also several interesting glosses. Although the Messapic inscriptions are not yet completely understood, the shorter ones, consisting of proper names, present no serious difficulty and much progress has been made in the interpretation of the longer ones. The more important features of the dialect are the change of Indo-European *ǵ* to *ǵ̃*, the representation of *bb* and *db* by *b* and *d*, consonant gemination before *i*, a genitive singular ending in *-i*, a system of nomenclature comparable to the Roman and Italic one of *prænomen*, *gentile name*, and *cognomen* (this last often an occupational name, or a name indicating the place of origin), a frequent ending *-oa* in place-names (compare names like *Capua*, *Mantua*, *Padua*), and the retention of both the subjunctive and the optative moods, but with something of the fusion

¹ See *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 42, 1931, pp. 143 ff.

of them that is found in Latin already begun. The script is at base the Tarentine or Laconian (Western) Greek alphabet, but it has been affected by considerable Ionic influence, and there is accordingly some confusion, especially in the writing of aspirates and of sibilants, due to this double origin. One of its most remarkable features is the complete loss of the μ -symbol, a loss which resulted in the adoption of a cumbrous device for the representation of the $\tilde{\mu}$ -sounds. It has been suggested that the lack of the μ -symbol in Messapic is somehow connected with that of the σ -symbol in Etruscan writing. It would certainly appear that in both there was a sound, nearer to μ than to σ , for which the one dialect took the σ -symbol, the other the μ -symbol, leaving the expression of the true σ and μ (so far as they occurred) to be accomplished by other means, and it may be that the Etruscans, if they did land for a brief time in south-eastern Italy, have left this mark on Messapic writing. More certain than this rather dubious hypothesis are a few clear resemblances between the older Messapic alphabet and the Etruscan, but there is no reason for supposing that these are due to anything other than the common Greek source of both.

8. GREEKS AND ROMANS IN APULIA

The oldest Messapic inscriptions belong to the fifth century B.C., the latest prove that the dialect lasted at least as long as the Republic. There are naturally borrowings from both Latin and Greek. Indeed the whole district of Apulia, especially in the southern part, was never completely Latinized or Romanized and beside the Greek, Albanian, and Levantine elements in its population of more recent times, who have brought their native tongues with them, there are some Greek-speaking groups in the southern Puglie whose speech and many of whose customs go back to pre-Roman days. But the Messapians resisted the Greeks desperately, and inflicted severe defeats upon the Tarentines in 473 B.C. and again in 338 B.C. They were a vigorous people who strove hard to preserve their independence. During the Peloponnesian war a Messapian prince Artas furnished help to the Athenians attacking Syracuse, and in general their constitution appears to have been monarchical. The Sallentini and the

Peucetii are said to have been organized into twelve communities. A curious custom is recorded of the women-folk of the Daunni in a fragment of Timæus that reminds us of the ritual vase described above (p. 317), namely, that they had the custom of staining their faces with a red dye, and that, like the Veneti, they were fond of wearing black. Another custom said to have been common among the Messapians—presumably the men this time—was that of the common mess-table (*φειδίτια* or *συσσίτια*).

Italic influences properly so-called are even less marked than Greek. The famous Law of Bantia (c. 120 B.C.), containing municipal regulations, is the only Oscan document of the region—apart from a few coin-legends—and even it is not certainly ascribed to Apulia rather than to Lucania. No doubt the *prætor* at Arpi in 213 B.C., mentioned by Livy, belongs to the period of Romanization, but in the south Romanization progressed more slowly and more feebly. Apulia was one of the parts of Italy that suffered most from the wars of the fourth and third centuries B.C., and from the depopulation and decline of agriculture which followed. The old Messapian aristocracy bitterly opposed the Romans, and it seems as if Brundisium itself was always to the Roman a stepping-stone to the east rather than a base from which to subject a province of Italy in which he had very little interest. By the time of Strabo the tribal names of Daunni and Peucetii had gone out of use, and it is evident that the distinctive names, and also national character of those tribes, if they had ever come to possess one, were being forgotten.

So far as the dialect inscriptions inform us, the Messapians appear to have borrowed Greek divine names freely—we have *aprodita*, *damatar*, and perhaps *artemes*. There is also a maieutic goddess known by the widespread name *ana*, and bearing the epithet *lahona*,¹ which may be related to Greek *Λάχσις* or the Sicel *Λάγσις*, and a group of deities with a similar or related name, mentioned in the plural (loc. dat.) *logetibas*. Finally, a people who held the horse in high esteem naturally had a horse god: his name was *Menxana*, and he came to be identified with the Roman Jupiter.

One interesting feature of the Apulian and Calabrian townships, first noticed by Mayer, was that they were arranged in

¹ Cf. Ven. *lah · v · nah* ?

groups, several more powerful inland communities, of which the harbour was a mere dependency, being associated with each coastal town. No doubt this arrangement was devised as a protection against pirates, for whom the open Apulian coast was especially vulnerable and inviting. Thus we have Canosa in connexion with Barletta, Ruvo with Molfetta, Ceglie with Bari; and Ostuni, Ceglie Messapico, and the stronghold of Oria, set on the only high ground in the south, in connexion with Brindisi. The chief cities of the Messapians were, after Oria itself, Rudia near Lecce (the ancient Lupia), Caelia, Balesium between Brindisi and Lecce, and the harbour-town of Brundisium which derived its name from the Messapic name (*βρένδος* or *βρύνδος*) for a "stag," owing to the resemblance of the tortuous harbour coast-line to the head and antlers of that animal.

But if the Romans rather despised Apulia, as they seem to have done, their attitude was unjust. For Apulia had given them more than one poet of distinction—not only the Greek captive of war Andronicus from Tarentum, but also the native Apulian of royal lineage Ennius,¹ to whom Vergil is said to have owed so much, his nephew Pacuvius, and not least the inimitable Horace from the border town Venusia, "Lucanus an Apulus anceps," whose journey to Brindisi we may all still follow with delight.

Bibliographical Note.—See, in addition to Mayer's works (p. 93 above):—

Jatta, A., *La Puglia preistorica*, Bari, 1914 (Commissione provinciale di archeologia e storia patria di Bari: Documenti e Monografie, vol. 14).

Gervasio, M., *I dolmen e la civiltà del Bronzo nelle Puglie*, Bari, 1913 (Documenti e Monografie, vol. 13).

—, *Bronzi arcaici e ceramica geometrica nel Museo di Bari*, Bari, 1921 (Documenti e Monografie, vol. 16).

Modestov, V., *Vvedenie v rimskuyu istoriyu*, part II, chapters 5, 6 (these two chapters of Modestov's *Introduction* are available only in the Russian original), St. Petersburg, 1904.

¹ It is perhaps worth noting that it was about the time of Ennius, or shortly afterwards that the Romans took to writing a prolonged consonant "double" (e.g. *ll* in *villa*). This is a feature both of Messapic and of Oscan writing (to which it may have spread from Messapic). It is possible that Ennius introduced the fashion at Rome (for despite Gellius he must have known Messapic, and even Gellius credits him with a knowledge of Oscan), though for all we know the Romans may have learnt the practice in Campania (cf. pp. 304, 331, n. 1).

CHAPTER XIV

LUCANIA

I. BOUNDARIES

THE ancient name has been recently revived to replace that of Basilicata for a modern province of Italy which agrees fairly closely (except on the west where a large piece has been lost to Campania) with the ancient Lucania. This Lucania of the Romans, together with the *ager Bruttiorum* (now called Calabria)—the toe of Italy—made up the third Augustan *regio*. All that we shall be concerned with in this chapter is the ancient Lucania, which stretched from the river Bradanus on the east (entering the gulf of Tarentum east of Metapontum) to the Silarus on the west, where the frontier marched with that of Campania. The dividing-line between Lucania and the Bruttii ran across the neck of the peninsula from a point just north of Thurii to a point just south of Laus. Archæologically the region is more a blank than any other in ancient Italy; this is partly no doubt due to the almost complete lack of excavation. But the meeting of the Sabellian current from the north with the Illyrian, Sicel, and Greek tides from the south-east and the south-west does seem to have produced a veritable slack water; on the linguistic side we have a few Oscan inscriptions, and the written tradition adds very little more. A new interest in Lucania may be stimulated by the formation of the "Società Magna Grecia" which has begun to publish since 1931 reports and discussions in its *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*.¹

¹ There is a number of scattered articles in *Notizie degli Scavi* (e.g. 1897, pp. 112 ff., pp. 163 ff.; 1900, pp. 32 ff., 1903, pp. 262 ff.; 1904, pp. 196 ff., 1919, pp. 243 ff.; cf. *J.R.S.*, 9, 1919, pp. 211 ff., *Arch. Anz.*, 1921, pp. 137 ff.), but nothing to give us a connected account of pre-Roman Lucania, for the earliest periods see, however, von Duhn, *Graberkunde*, 1, pp. 50 ff.

No doubt the boundaries of the true Lucanians were extremely vague. A southern outpost of the Sabellian tribes, hemmed in by a line of Greek colonies except in the inland parts of their frontiers where they really joined hands with their kinsmen, they hardly reached the coast at all. There is a curious record of the oldest form of the name, older apparently than its extension by the favourite *no*-ending which turned an unrecorded **Lucus* into *Lucanus*, in the old Latin expression for elephant, namely *bos Luca*, which seems to have come from the use of elephants by Pyrrhus in his battles in Lucania in 281 B.C., when the Romans first encountered this strange beast. But Lucanian coins of c. 300 B.C., with the inscription in Oscan (gen. plu.) give us already *λουκανομ*. It is evidently the name of a Samnite or Sabellian tribe—Horace speaks of their expulsion from the neighbourhood of Venusia¹—who had pushed their way so far south by the fifth century B.C., sending another offshoot into Calabria. But *bos Luca* also suggests that the cattle raised in Lucania were of a large build; and its groves and woods likewise provided great numbers of swine with food. Between the thickly wooded slopes of the hills and mountains, and the productive strip of coast on the Tarentine gulf, with its pastures and vineyards, was the greatest contrast, the interior being wild and uncultivated; time and again even in recent years it has furnished a refuge for brigands and fugitives from justice, and such scanty evidence as is available suggests that the ancient Lucanians were fierce and warlike, and except on the Greek fringe, barely civilized at the time of the Roman expansion. Even the Greek cities on the west coast, Poseidonia (Pæstum), Pyxus, and Laus, fell under their control in the fourth century B.C.

2. EARLY INHABITANTS

In neolithic and bronze age times the inhabitants of Lucania used the natural caves of the hillsides as dwelling-places, and also for burials. A number of these have been found by accident, but they tell us very little. The population belonged to the "Mediterranean" race that then occupied Italy as a whole. At Ripa del Corvo (between Rovello and Pugliano) three such

¹ *Sat*, 2, 1, 36 (*pulsis, uctus est ut fama, Sabellis*).

caves have been opened, and have yielded fragments of worked bone, stone arrow-heads, and primitive pottery, some of it imported or copied from imported ware, bronze amulets, and a few archaic fibulæ. From the Grotta di Gesù salvatore come specimens of "ansa cornuta" vases, and other objects comparable with those from Scoglio del Tonno near Tarentum and from Matera, including two painted sherds similar to what is found at Matera and Molfetta. A grave loosely put together of thick unworked limestone slabs has come to light at Montecorvino (near Gauro) which contained an axe of nephrite and two pieces of a broad armlet of bronze. The important site of Pertosa was mentioned in a previous chapter (see p. 79). Excavations in a cave near Caggiano revealed in the upper strata not only a human skeleton but also a sixth-century vase of geometric style. The remains found at Monte Cervaro belong entirely to the neolithic and immediately succeeding age, but those of Pietra Pertosa also included pieces of half-refined iron ore. Other sites have given us sporadic finds—obsidian and amber objects, an occasional bronze sword, and a few small vases of unpurified clay.

That the sparse but very ancient inhabitants of Lucania represented by this slight and rather uncertain evidence had been joined by occasional settlers from the district further east, where, as we saw in the last chapter, trans-Adriatic immigrants had penetrated, is suggested not only by the similarities of some of the potsherds from the Lucanian caves to those of Matera and Molfetta—so far as the latter really have Balkan affinities—but more clearly by the local names showing the Illyrian *nt*-formant; for even though these are not first written down for us until much later, local names may be representative of very old strata of language. Thus we have in Lucania *Casuentum*, *Ursentini*, *Grumentum*, *Buxentum* (Græcized as *Πυξοῦς*); and above all *Metapontum* itself, which both in that form and also in another and probably older shape *Méταπον*, is neither Greek nor Italic but Illyrian in both base and formants, and *Xῶνες* (*Χῶνη*), the oldest name of Lucania according to Strabo, which is also the name of an Epirote tribe, the *Xάονες*. Both these elements in the make-up of the Lucanians, like the conquering Sabellians who came next in numbers large enough to make

the district more definitely Italic, buried their dead. The occasional instances of cremation that have been found in Lucania, dating as far back as the sixth century, can be due only to Greek influence which was strong enough on the coast and some way inland.

3. THE SABELLIANS IN LUCANIA

The third element, the Sabellians, is represented most clearly in the few Oscan and semi-Oscan inscriptions of Lucania. These are not numerous—about a dozen all told; they come from Diano (Tegianum), Anzi (Anxia), Potentia, and one or two other sites. They are all of a private character; those written in the Greek (Tarentine-Ionic) alphabet cannot well be older than c. 400 B.C. The rest are still later, and are written in the Latin alphabet. The Oscan alphabet of Campania is thus entirely unknown. Only three of the dialect inscriptions are more than a word or two long, and these three are not well understood, one of them in fact, that from Anzi,¹ can hardly be translated at all. Indeed, it may be questioned whether it is properly considered a true Oscan inscription, but should not rather be reckoned as a record of the half-Oscanized speech of the pre-Samnite population. There would be nothing unreasonable in the supposition that the language of this region should show traces of mixture such as its ethnic and cultural history imply. It is just conceivable that the non-Oscan, or not clearly Oscan, features in that inscription are due to Illyrian intermixture, rather than to survival of the more ancient indigenous linguistic substratum. But it is well to point out that there are two inscriptions from Potenza, the ancient Potentia, in the very centre of Lucania, which cannot be considered Greek or Oscan, or Latin, or Messapic.² If they are not in the dialect which we are beginning to recognize as that of the Siculi in Sicily and in Italy (cf. p. 353), the presumption will be that they are the stray records of a stratum of speech older than either the Sabellians or the Illyrians. An inscription on the front of an altar discovered at an ancient site not far from the modern Tricarico about thirty years ago³ is more definitely Oscan in character, but it also

¹ *Italic Dialects*, no. 22.

² See *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, p. 474.

³ Most easily accessible in Buck, *Grammar*, ed. 2, p. 369.

presents irregularities and obscurities as compared with the standard Oscan of Campania. It is interesting above all for the divine names *OFioi* and *φλουσοι* (both dat. sg., as if Latin *Ovio*, *Floro*), hitherto unrecorded, the latter clearly the masculine corresponding to the Pompeian and Samnite *fluusai* (dat. sg. fem.)¹ and to the Roman *Flora*; and for the proof it gives us of what had previously been conjectured, namely, that the Lucanians, like the Oscans and Samnites, had a magistrate or official known as *meddix*, though it is possible that in the inscription of Tricarico the *meddix* should be regarded as having had sacred rather than secular duties. And it must be admitted that the name *γαυκιες*, that is "Gaucius," in this inscription reminds us more of a Greek (Æolic)² than of an Italic name. The coins of Pæstum show that the Italic pronunciation (*παιστανο*) succeeded the Greek form *Poseidonia* early in the fourth century—the city was captured by the Lucanians in 390 B.C.—and in the brief text that reads

ηερεκλεις σκλαβενς

that is "Herculis clavi (n. pl.)" on a clay counter found at Fermo, with the design of a club painted in black on both sides, we learn not only that Herakles had been adopted by this Oscan-speaking tribe, but also that the language, like Latin, and Romance, resisted the initial sound pattern *sl*.³ Finally an abbreviated name (*Bennius*?) on a fourth-century coin of Laus, which also was captured about 390 B.C., would seem to be at least as much Messapic as Lucanian or Italic. No region of Italy, perhaps, shows a more complex mingling of foreign and Italic elements, a mingling which in Lucania, in the absence of any strong stimulus to literary or artistic activity, seems to have resulted in sterility instead of new productivity such as it produced in most other parts of the peninsula.

¹ Cf. also Vest. *fluare* "(mense) Quinctili," and Osc. *fluusaisais* "floralibus" (loc. or dat. pl.).

² Collitz-Bechtel, 307 (from Cebrena in Asia Minor).

³ Whence Fr. *esclave*, Ital. *schiaivo* from a Slavonic form beginning with *sl* borrowed into late Latin as *slavus*.

4. THE LUCANIAN CONFEDERACY

Like the Samnite tribes in general the Lucanians tended towards organization in a united confederacy or canton, which might under more favourable conditions have formed the basis of a national unity. This is clear not only from their communal coins but also from their more or less concerted action as a single tribe in their wars during the fourth and third centuries B.C., and again from their alliance, as a tribe, with Rome in 298 B.C. But the Hannibalic war was evidently a disintegrating factor, for after it the several towns went each its own way and made separate treaties with Rome. By the end of the Republic Latin had displaced Oscan in Lucania as in Campania, except possibly in remote hill-communities where it lingered some time longer. So much is implied by the statement of Strabo, that in his own day the Lucanians had all "become Romans". From the same authority we learn that they had a democratic constitution, though they had evidently passed through the monarchic stage if we may trust a fragment of Timæus¹ which names a King Lamiscus, of whom nothing else is known. And even at a later date, during time of war a sort of dictator (*βασιλεύς* is Strabo's word, 6, 1, 3, pp. 253 f. C.) was elected by (or from) the regular magistrates. The Lucanians' way of life was compared by ancient authority with that of the Spartans, but the comparison probably means no more than what a modern historian would mean by the same sort of comparison, and yet they are also said to have been hospitable and to have had a strong sense of justice. We have no good reason for accepting the assertion of Timæus that they once held Cumæ; it probably rests upon the capture of Cumæ by the Campanian Samnites, whom Timæus (or his authority) had confused with their Lucanian kinsmen. On the other hand, Thurii, no less than the Greek colonies on the west coast, of which only Elea resisted the Lucanians successfully, was in danger from them very soon after its foundation, and the reconstruction of the Italiot league was intended to combat them. But between 389 and 379 B.C. we find them joining hands with the Italiots to resist Dionysius I who was threatening both the Lucanians and their

¹ *F.H.G.*, 2, 218, 20.

kindred the Bruttii. It was not until 317 B.C. that they came into contact with the Romans, the year in which Nerulum was stormed by the consul Quintus Æmilius Barbula; and less than twenty years later, as we read in the well-known epitaph of Scipio Barbatus (consul in 298 B.C.), *subigit omne Loucanam opsidisque abdoucit*, even though the assimilation of Lucania was not complete for over two hundred years more.

5. LUCANIAN GLOSSES AND PROPER NAMES

One curious fragment of Lucanian idiom is quoted by Strabo to the effect that the Lucanians called the *Brettioi*, that is probably the Bruttii, "runaways". We know from other sources that the Bruttii were a rebellious offshoot of the southern Sabellians, who had made themselves independent of the Lucanians further north. The debasement of meaning in what was properly an ethnic title is, therefore, intelligible. It is, in fact, exactly what has happened to other ethnic names—in the mouths of an enemy or unfriendly or merely superior people—as witness our English word "slave" (*Slav*), or the Attic use of *σκύθης* "watch-man," not to mention the meaning which "helot" has developed, a term which seems to have begun its history as a proper name before it was misunderstood, as it very soon was, as a participle meaning "captive".¹ But

¹ For other examples of the same kind see *Præ-Italic Dialects*, ii, p. 159. There is, however, an ancient explanation which is different from that given in the text, and which should be mentioned here. In Festus we read (p. 131 in *Gloss. Lat.*, iv): "*Bruttiani* dicebantur qui officia serulia magistratibus præstabant, eo quod hi primum se Hannibali tradiderant et cum eo perseuerant usque dum recederat de Italia". So also the derivative glosses (*Gloss. Philox.*, in *Gloss. Lat.*, ii) *Bruttiani* οἱ δουλικὰς τάξεις χρῆσσοῦντες, and *Bruttiani*: περίπολοι. (Similarly, the use of Bruttii as frontier-guards or as attendants seems to have given rise to the expression *Bruttianæ parmæ*.) A slightly different account is given by Aulus Gellius, 10, 3, 19, and yet another tradition in Fulgentius, *serm. ant.*, 49. But all these rationalizing and specialized explanations given by the authorities cited seem to me to be inferior to the general one which I have given above, and they apply not to *Bruttii* but to the derivative *Bruttiani*. I prefer, therefore, to accept as sound the tradition which makes *bruttius* or *βρέττιος* a genuine Lucanian word. If it is not actually the ethnicon *Bruttius*, it may be a true dialect-form, with *b* for I. Eu. *gu* (cf. Latin *gravis*), and perhaps the characteristic S. Oscan and Messapic gemination of *t* before *i*, accompanied by a popular pronunciation therefore of *u* (before *ti* from *ti*) by which it was shortened to *u* (cf. *Iuppiter*, *littera*). Latin *brūius* was borrowed from the dialects.

the fact that the Lucanians used *βρέττιοι* or *βρύττιοι* in this way rather suggests that the ethnic name had properly belonged not to a Sabellian tribe, but to an earlier people whom the Lucanians, or their kinsmen, had subdued and who had then been confined, as a tribe, to the south-western peninsula of Italy. They may have been a fragment of the old neolithic stock—rather than Illyrians or the Sicel new-comers from across the straits—while in Lucania the word for “slave, runaway” continued to be “brettios,” possibly corrupt in form as well as changed in meaning, long after these events (cf. p. 363 below).

It will be convenient to point out here that there is a fundamental unity in the ancient local names of Italy which can only mean a corresponding linguistic unity, or even ethnic unity, going back to very remote times, despite all the local variations of external influences and internal development, cross currents of civilization, migrations, and conquests that we have described. A very large number of local names occur, in essentially the same form, or with but minor differences in stem or termination, in more than one part of Italy. Some of these are easily explained, since they are manifestly based on vocables that were common to Indo-European-speaking peoples everywhere, as for example local names containing the element *tauro-*, which are dotted all over Italy; or again, based on vocables that may go back to a widespread Mediterranean stratum of speech, older than the introduction of Indo-European languages into Italy, as for example the element *teba-*, said to be the Sabine word for “hill,” which appears not only in Lucania (*T(h)ebæ*), but also at Beneventum (*Tebanus pagus*), in the Cottian Alps (*Tebanii*), in Sicily (*Tabar*) and in Caria (*Táβav*).¹ Then, too, the appearance of *Venetulani* in Latium, we have seen, probably implies the presence of an Illyrian settlement there; while *Picentini* in Campania, like *Ligures* (*Bæbiani*) in the country of the Hirpini, means nothing more than the transplantation of communities wholesale in historical times. But it is not so easy to account for *Atina* in Lucania and *Atina* among the Veneti; for a Ligurian *Eryx*, *Segesta* (which is also Carnic), and *Entella*, as well as

¹ Cf. Debrunner in Ebert, *Reallexikon*, 4, 1 (1926), p. 518, *Italic Dialects*, 1, p. 358; *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, p. 497.

identical Sicel place-names; for Ligurian *Talponius* beside Sicel *Talarienses*; Ligurian *Μέδμη* beside Bruttian *Medma*, *Σιγύνναι* in Liguria beside *Sicani* in Sicily; Messapic *Luppiæ* beside Raetic *Luppa* (and Germanic *Λουππία*); Messapic *Barium*, *Barra* (cf. *barreinibi*) beside Transpadane *Barra*; and for many other correspondences of the same kind, except on the assumption advanced above that underlying all the vicissitudes of the early iron age in Italy there was a common inheritance of speech, represented in mere fragmentary outcrops such as these names, no less than a common inheritance of race.

6. CITIES OF LUCANIA

The strip of territory along the Lucanian coast on the gulf of Taranto, desolate as it is to-day, monotonous sand-dunes and barren heathland, and the bare and naked ruins of Metapontum—a few Doric columns standing up from the plain—present the greatest contrast with the once fertile land and the flourishing city where Pythagoras lived and taught. There can be no question that malaria has played a large rôle in the depopulation of this entire region, as in some other parts of Italy. But Metapontum was merely a heap of ruins in the time of Pausanias, and in fact it had never recovered from its downfall in the second Punic war, when it had sided with Hannibal. Thus its story is, in many ways, a parallel to that of Capua. Heraclea, a foundation of Tarentum, near the site of which Policoro now stands, is in no better case. It, too, had ceased to be of any importance before the end of the Roman republic. But we have an interesting memorial of its former prosperity, and of the fertility of its lands, in the famous Heracleian tables.¹ These report a survey and allotment made of certain lands, the property of the temples of Dionysus and Athena Polias, which had been encroached upon by private parties, and their revenue diminished. To-day the surrounding territory is marshland and miserably cultivated. But the tables themselves have a double interest for us. The tribe and family of each person named is indicated by groups of letters and by emblems or crests such as a tripod, caduceus,

¹ I.G. 14, 645; Cauer-Schwyzer, *Dial. Græc. exempla potiora*, Leipzig, 1923, no. 62.

shield, and others, a practice which is not unknown elsewhere in ancient Italy. There is a sort of system of blazonry in the Oscan *ionilæ* (p. 302 above),¹ but the once popular theory of Deecke, that such was also the case with Messapic inscriptions was erroneous.² Besides this practice, which at Heraclea may have been adopted from the pre-Greek inhabitants of the region, we have at least one native name in the Heracleian tables, *Δάξιμος*, which was certainly Messapic or Illyrian, not Greek; in return the Greek of southern Italy has given the modern language a word *vasida* or *nasida* "alluvium" that still survives—it is evidently the *vâsos* "alluvium"³ of the Heracleian dialect.

¹ Cf. *Italic Dialects*, I, pp. 104 ff.

² *Prae-Italic Dialects*, II, pp. 265, 538.

³ Not "island" (*Tab. Heracl.*, I, 35), see Schwyzer's note *Festschrift für Kretschmer*, Leipzig, 1926, pp. 245 ff., cf. *Rheinisches Museum*, 77, 1928, p. 231, and Rohlf's, *Scavi linguistici*, p. 154 ("striscia coltivata lungo una fiumara").

CHAPTER XV

THE LAND OF THE BRUTTII

I. THE BRUTTII: ITALIA

WE saw in the last chapter that the "ager Bruttiorum," the territory south of a line drawn from Laus to Thurii, or thereabouts, an area that corresponds roughly to the modern Calabria,¹ belonged in pre-Roman days to tribes who traditionally were offshoots from the Lucanians, and therefore, Sabellians like them. That the tradition is in the main correct, or at least contains an element of truth, is clear from the discovery, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Monteleone near Bivona (the ancient Vibo or Vibo Valentia), of a few inscriptions written in Oscan, and in the Greek alphabet—reminding us of the statement recorded by Festus that the "Bruttaces" or "Bruttates" (that is presumably the Bruttii) were bilingual and spoke both Oscan and Greek; and also from a study of the local and personal names of the district. The latter, indeed, as we might expect are very mixed; there is a large proportion of Greek names, such as *Leucopetra* or *Zephyrium*, which can never have been anything but Greek. There are also names which have been made to wear a Greek dress. Thus *Regium* is the best attested spelling of what is commonly written Rhegium (*Ῥήγιον*), now Reggio, and was not unnaturally interpreted as a Greek name. But if it was originally *Regium*, not Rhegium, then no doubt it is pure Italic or at least Sicel.²

¹ Orsi's monograph *Le Necropoli pre-elleniche Calabresi di Torre Galli e di Canale, Iancina, Patariti*, in *Monumenti Antichi*, 31, 1926, pp. 6-367, is of first importance for the archæology of this region in the early iron age. The reader should also consult a long article by M. Mayer, *Altitaliker auf Sudwanderung*, that appeared in *Klio*, 25, 1932, pp. 348 ff.; and, for reports of new discoveries, the *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e Lucania* (Rome, since 1931), published as a quarterly supplement to the *Atti e Memorie* of the *Società Magna Grecia*.

² See p. 18 n. 1 above.

More striking is the metamorphosis which the name has undergone that originally belonged to just this district and must have been something like **Vetelia*—Italic in formation, but with a Greek loss of the initial consonant. Hence *Italia* is in part the form which the name took when borrowed into Greek, *F* having been lost in the Greek dialects of south Italy soon after about 400 B.C. But the name also shows another very interesting change which has long baffled explanation, namely, the shift of an accented *ē* to *ī* in the first syllable (which *was* the accented syllable at the date when the change took place). This change can be located in south Italy,¹ for it occurs also in the name *Siculi* (cf. *sequor*), and we shall presently find the clearest proof that the people also who have that name lived in this same region in pre-Roman, indeed in pre-Hellenic times. Such in fact was the ancient tradition, and the tradition has now become a certainty. But the shift of *ē* to *ī* may have been Illyrian rather than specifically south Italic. It is gradually becoming clearer, as has been hinted already more than once in these pages, that the true affiliation of the Sicel dialect may prove to be with Illyrian rather than with Latin, and also that the early civilizations of Sicily, of southern Italy, and of the Balkan regions, have something in common. Moreover, we have seen (cf. p. 308) that the Illyrian Messapians at one time held for a short period several sites far to the west of the territory to which they had been restricted by the fifth century, for example, Thurii, Croton (where Ephorus mentions "three promontories of the Iapygians," and where coin legends with the inscription *Ia*, that is probably *Ἰάπυγες*, have been found), and perhaps Pandosia, this last being an Epirote, as well as a Bruttian name. The name of the Bruttii or *Βρῆττιοι* themselves sometimes appears in a form *Βρέντιοι* which suggests a Messapic rather than an Italic origin for it, -ττ- in *Βρέντιοι* being then due to an assimilation, though an unusual one, of -nt- to -tt-. The river-name *Baletum* in the country of the Bruttii is pure Messapic,² and *Sagra*, also a river-name, is not to be separated from that of the Picentine *Sagrus*.

¹ Cf. the South Italic gloss *ἰταλός· ταῦπος*, *Italic Dialects*, i, p. 48.

² Cf. *balethas*, *balethihi* and others, *Præ-Italic Dialects*, iii, p. 8, cf. ii, pp. 267, 362 ff.

2. GREEKS AND "BARBARIANS"

Even more clearly than the form *Italia*, the other common name of the region, *Oenotria*, reveals the Greek colonists of what these two appellations suggest must have been a fertile land, at least around the coast-line, for though *οἶνος* is ultimately a word of Mediterranean, non-Indo-European origin, in that shape it is Greek only. *Italia*, indeed, may have had more a religious than an agricultural¹ significance to begin with (cf. p. 240), and in fact, from Vibo itself we have the record of the sacrifice of a bullock to "Jupiter Versor" in the Oscan inscription that reads

δίου **Ἑ**ι *Ἑ*ρσορει ταυρομ

and the same concept is implicit in the local names *Tauriana* and *Tauroentum*, no less than in the Sicilian *Tauromenium*. Again *Sila* (cf. Latin *silva*) and *Tempsa* (older *Τέμεσσα*, cf. *τέμενος*, or Skt. *tamas-* "shadow") suggest a well-wooded region. These last names, indeed, are part of a common Indo-European inheritance, and there is little in the toponymy of the "ager Bruttiorum" that is not Indo-European; it is very doubtful whether the river-name *Æsar* is to be connected with the Etruscan *aesar*, and an Indo-European etymology, that connects it with *ἱερός* and with *Isara* (in Gaul), *Isarcas* and *Ἰσάρπας* (Rætia) and *Æsis* (Umbria), with reference to the purifying virtue of running water, is at least as reasonable. In the local name *Μαμέρτιον* we have indisputable testimony to the presence of the Sabellians, and the names of two Bruttian brothers of distinction, *Vibius* and *Paccius*,² tell the same story.

We have, therefore, in our written sources, as well as in the historians,³ who are very positive on this subject, the clearest indication of Oscan-speaking Sabellians in the Bruttii, either as having been driven south by the Lucanians, or as having sprung from the Lucanians and moved further south; we have also occasional hints of the Iapygian Messapians. Likewise the Siculi are said to have lived among them, as in other localities on the western side of the Apennines as far north as Latium.

¹ For this aspect see F. Vincke, *Die Rinderzucht im alten Italien* (Giessen, 1932). Compare also *Εὐβοία* "good calf-land (?)" and Rætic *supiku* (: *pecus*?).

² Livy, 27, 15, 3.

³ E.g. Diod. 16, 15, 2, cf. Strabo, 5, 228, 6, 253 ff.

And the foundation of Greek colonies on the Bruttian coast is a familiar chapter in the history of Magna Græcia. But here, apart from scattered notices of their later history, our knowledge of the Bruttii would have stopped short, but for archæological exploration, and here it did stop until a decade and a half ago. Without Orsi's discoveries of 1922 and 1923 there would have been no more to tell about the Bruttii than there is about the Lucanians. It is the new archæological knowledge which makes all the difference between the incomplete and uncertain story of Lucania, that forms but a short chapter in our account of pre-Roman Italy, and the more certain and fuller description which can now be given of the land of the Bruttii before the beginning of history. True, only a few sites have been explored as yet, but the region is no longer the almost complete archæological blank in the early iron age that it was twenty years ago, and that Lucania still remains; true also that a very similar but by no means identical mixture of peoples and cultures was no more productive of leaders of men either in events or in the arts among the Bruttii than in Lucania.

3. THE SICELS IN CALABRIA

This archæological evidence comes (i) from Torre Galli, some eight miles from Tropæa, on the south-western edge of high ground that rises into the plateau of Monte Leone, looking westwards over the Tyrrhenian sea; and (ii) from a group of three other sites, Canale, Ianchina, and Patariti, all on the outskirts of what was later to become a Greek settlement on the Ionian sea, the colony of Locri Epizephyrii, not far from the modern Gerace. Material discovered in excavations conducted at Torre Mordillo, some further distance from Gerace, so long ago as the middle eighties of the last century, is now seen to belong to essentially the same civilization. Hitherto it had not only been isolated; it had not even been studied, much less understood. This civilization archæologists describe as "wholly new and unsuspected," but the fact is that the ancient tradition, as we shall see, would have encouraged any unprejudiced student to have expected it, once excavations had been begun near the site of Locri Epizephyrii. Nor again, to anyone who was not

wholly impatient of the tradition, can the new discoveries "mark the beginning of a revolution" in all his ideas of the pre-history of southern Italy. It is the archæologists, not the philologists, or historians, who have expressed astonishment at the measure of truth which the new excavations prove the statements of ancient authorities to have contained.

The assertion of Polybius¹ that Sicels (Σικελοί, in Latin *Siculi*) were in possession of Locri Epizephyrii as late as the seventh century B.C., faithfully repeated by modern historians, has been scorned and laughed at or welcomed and believed by them in about equal degree. There seemed to be nothing decisive either way, though to the philologist there was a strong temptation to see in it support for the view, which he then held confidently, and which some philologists now, by no means so confidently, still hold, that the ancient Sikel dialect (of Sicily) was closely related to the ancient languages of the Italian peninsula, and especially to Latin. The tradition appears in a slightly different shape in other authors; Thucydides,² for example, tells us that there were still Sicels in Ἰταλία, that is in the country of the Bruttii, in his own day, and later writers such as Strabo³ and the elder Pliny⁴ write in such a way as to suggest that the Sicels of the extreme south-western corner of Italy were not even in their time extinct. But they, like so many other ancient authorities,⁵ whose testimony may be summed up in the words "that Sicels or Sicans had at one time been spread over the whole of Italy," thought that the Sicels of Sicily had migrated to the island from the mainland. Now the two important points about the new discoveries made by Orsi are these: (1) that they have revealed in the "ager Bruttiorum," and especially at Gerace near Locri Epizephyrii, whence, according to Polybius, the Greek colonists expelled the Sicels in the seventh century, a civilization which is fully entitled to be called Siculan, and which certainly lasted there until that date; but (2), and this must never be forgotten, that contrary to the ancient tradition, this Siculan civilization had come from Sicily. The Sicels of the "ager Bruttiorum," that is to say, were not the last remnant of a pre-historic "Sikel" population of western and

¹ 12, 6, 2; cf. 5, 10.

² 6, 2, 4.

³ 6, 1, 6, p. 257 C.

⁴ 3, 71.

⁵ Cf. p. 364 below, and see *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, pp. 431 f.

southern Italy, where ancient authorities locate them at a very large number of sites, and indeed all over the peninsula, but had actually come, or at least had derived their civilization of the early iron age (beginning about the tenth century B.C.), from Sicily.

Thus the tradition, in the form in which it used to be quoted, really can have meant nothing more than that there had been broad and general similarities in the more remote civilizations of parts of Italy and Sicily, some recollection of which had lingered in folk-memory in the form of a legend that Sicels, who were thought to have been once spread widely over Italy, had gradually been driven further and further south by Umbrians, Latins, and Sabellians in turn, until at last they were forced to take refuge in Sicily, and that only a fragment of this erstwhile extensive people survived in the "toe". It is indeed conceivable that the Sicels mentioned in the *Odyssey* of Homer¹ belong there, rather than in Sicily. But we now know that the ancient Siculan culture of the "toe" of Italy is part of a Siculo-Calabrian² or even a Siculo-Apulian civilization that forbids the comparison of the ancient Sicel dialect with Latin or the Italic dialects, except in so far as it may have borrowed a large number of words from Latin, but suggests rather comparisons with Messapic and ancient Illyrian—for *Siculi* are mentioned by the ancients as having lived in Dalmatia too (see n. 1 below); and in fact, the acute observations of the Austrian scholar R. von Scala had begun to point to this conclusion long before Orsi's excavations were made.³ So, therefore, while the ancient historians are proved to have been right in declaring that there had been Sicels in the south-western tip of the peninsula, we accept their statement with the correction that these Sicels had Sicilian, not Italian, affiliations.

4. THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

We may turn now to a consideration of the archæological evidence, noting especially its points of contact with the

¹ 20, 383, cf. 24, 211, 366, 389, but they may have been the Siculi of Dalmatia (cf. *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, p. 438).

² *Calabrian* in the modern sense, referring to the modern Calabria, as elsewhere in this chapter, whenever that term is used. For an excellent account of the geology and geography of the region see H. Kanter, *Kalabrien*, Hamburg, 1930.

³ See *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, pp. 439, 442.

archæological remains found in Sicily. We begin with the Gerace group of settlements (Canale, Ianchina, Patariti), which are perhaps the more interesting, not only because of the statements of Polybius cited above, to which the proximity of these settlements to the site of Locri Epizephyrii has given a new value, but also because of their important rock-cut chamber-tombs (at all three sites except Patariti), which bear the strongest resemblance to those of Sicily in the early iron age and the close of the preceding age. It should, however, be pointed out, as

Orsi has insisted, that the absence of rock-cut tombs at Torre Galli, where the objects discovered are equally of Sikel character, even though the chamber-tomb is replaced by the trench-grave, is due to nothing more than the different nature of the earth at the two sites, and is to be explained by the absence of rock itself; for

whereas at Gerace there are rocky slopes, at Torre Galli only clay was available. Thus the difference in rite is only superficial, and by no means implies a difference in people and civilization, or in their origins.

It was on the opposite side of the Gerace torrent from the site of Locri Epizephyrii that a group of pre-Hellenic settlements, dated some two hundred years before the founding of the Greek colony, was discovered by Orsi. Like the Torre Galli site it is a situation endowed by nature with strong defences, almost one thousand feet above sea-level, among rocky sandstone

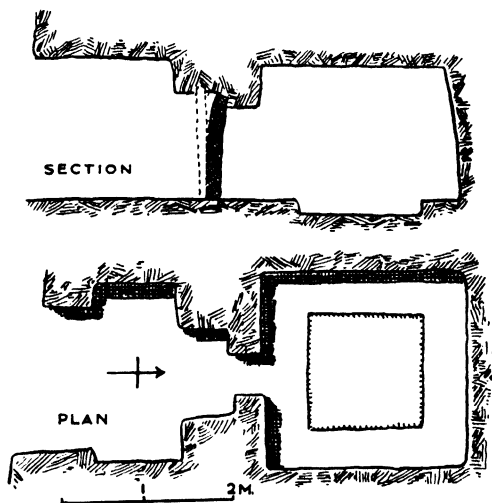


FIG. 122.—Plan and Section of Rock-cut Tomb at Canale.

hills. A typical chamber-tomb cut into the rock of these hillsides is illustrated in the figure. A square or trapezoidal entrance-chamber or vestibule is separated from the tomb proper by a narrow entrance-gate which was regularly closed by a large block of unworked stone. The tomb-chamber is also square or trapezoidal and not much different in size from the vestibule itself—if anything a little larger. Round its four sides runs a low broad bench leaving a square or quadrilateral depression in the centre. The bodies were laid in this chamber in varying positions and orientations (often but not always with the head to the east), sometimes in the central depression (as in Orsi's tomb no. 147, where two children or youths were buried in the central "fossa" if it may so be called), sometimes on the side-benches, more often with the head and shoulders on the bench and the rest of the body in the central "fossa". They were interred several in a tomb in nearly all cases, apparently entire families of parents and children, but not more than these two generations. The slightly bent legs hardly give what can be called a crouching posture—the contracted burial of neolithic times—but make simply a natural position of the bodies buried at full-length. Both men and women were buried in their usual garments and with their usual equipment of weapons or ornaments and also with the vessels necessary for a meal—household pottery, large quantities of which have survived.

5. THE PRE-HELLENIC CIVILIZATION OF CALABRIA

Both at Torre Galli and at Gerace (or Canale, if a single name may be adopted to designate the group) this early people were by no means wealthy. The absence of goldsmiths' work, and the paucity of objects that could be construed to represent wealth, such as amber or the thick rings which are thought to have been used as a medium of exchange, is enough to prove that. No doubt they were civilized and they were prosperous enough in their way, but they cannot be compared with the well-to-do Etruscans of the same period. They had begun to pass from the pastoral stage in which they had hitherto lived to a simple agricultural form of society, after making clearings in the dense woods that covered the entire region and which

still do, though to-day they must be markedly less thick and the cleared areas much greater than three thousand years or so ago. We are reminded of a passage in Aristotle: ¹ "the Italian historians say that there was a certain Italus king of Oenotria, from whom the Oenotrians were called Italians, and who gave the name of Italy to the promontory . . . lying within the Scylletic and Lametic gulfs,² which are distant from one another only half a day's journey. They say that this Italus converted the Oenotrians from shepherds into husbandmen." These "Oenotrians" whose remains we are considering, for it is tempting to use that name for them, were not a tall people, as is evident from the size of their tombs—the chamber itself is sometimes barely six feet square, and at Torre Galli the trench-graves are never more than six feet in length, just large enough to hold a single body fully extended. It has also been inferred that they were of low stature from the fact that (again at Torre Galli) all the handles of the swords were so small that they could have been used only by men whose hands gave a very small grip. It is unfortunate that in all those graves the bones had been completely decomposed, so that no positive racial classification can be made; but the few skulls obtained from the Gerace group of graves are held by Sergi to show that the pre-Hellenic population there, and hence presumably at Torre Galli also, belonged, like the Sicels of Sicily, to the Mediterranean race.

6. FOREIGN INFLUENCE

Though almost all of the contents of the Gerace tombs was of native manufacture, especially the pottery, there are clear traces of foreign influence and inspiration, even of foreign imports. This is apparent not only in the geometric painted wares which are altogether absent from Torre Galli, though that site does not lack objects of Greek origin or derivation, but in pottery of definitely Greek shapes and actually of Greek manufacture, in copper bowls of Greek inspiration—all representative of archaic

¹ 1329b. I quote from the Oxford translation of the *Politics* (Jowett), vol. 10, 1921.

² I.e. between these gulfs and the straits of Messina.

Greek culture ; or in the pseudo-Egyptian scarabs found both at Gerace and at Torre Galli, different as the two places are in their trading connexions ; and in the biconical amphoræ which suggest the typical Villanovan ossuary, and, what is most important, in nine specimens of the four-fold spiral fibula common on the Adriatic coast, where it is usually held to have been derived from



FIG. 123.—Boat Fibula from Canale.

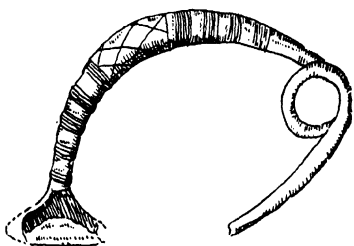


FIG. 124.—Bow Fibula (Torre Galli).

the Balkans, and in several specimens of chain-work ornament which has been compared with the famous Picene pieces.

Despite the fact that Torre Galli and Canale are almost exactly contemporary in date, there are certain differences in the distribution of fibulæ between the two sites, which have been attributed, no doubt rightly, to "two distinct currents of influence

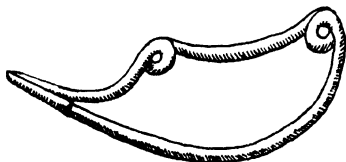


FIG. 125.—Sicilian Serpentine Fibula.

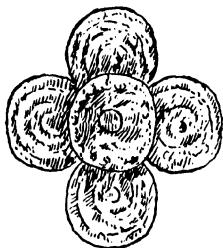


FIG. 126.—Four-spiral Fibula (Canale).

acting upon Canale, one of which came from the mainland of Italy, the other from pre-colonial Greece".¹ In fact the Canale group of settlements, and the neighbouring Torre Mordillo, were open to Ægean influences in a way in which Torre Galli was not ;

¹ Randall-MacIver, *Iron Age*, p. 204.

on the contrary, at Torre Galli external contacts were not at this time with Sicily any longer, nor with the Ægean and the Greek world, but with Campania and central Italy, as the fibulæ show. There is not here the slightest hint of abandoning the chronological criteria which fibulæ afford ; it is a question of the varying distribution of several forms of fibulæ that have different ranges of date at different localities and so overlap and therefore are in part of their range contemporaneous. Thus, at Canale, the boat-fibula, in different sizes, and with either a long or a short shank, is the most common type ; at Torre Galli the slightly thickened or the simple bow type predominates ; both sites have also a number of serpentine fibulæ, and Canale nine of the

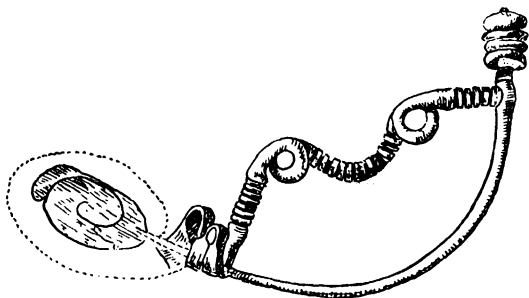


FIG. 127.—Disc-fibula from Torre Galli.

Adriatic four-spiral type mentioned above, as well as two specimens of the disc-fibula. From Torre Galli, among the serpentine fibulæ, are one of the archaic harp shape, four of the two-eyed shape, terminating either in the tubular catch point as in Sicily, or in a disc. There is also occasionally found there the small boat-fibula with side-studs and a long shank, again known from Sicel sites in Sicily such as Finocchito, which like the few definitely Greek fibulæ from the later Torre Galli tombs, was probably imported. Thus the fibulæ of Torre Galli are predominantly Italian types, comparable for the most part, especially the bow-fibulæ, with those of Campania, though the disc-fibulæ include types which may have been of Picene derivation.¹ Torre Galli then, seems to have a longer life than the Canale settlements,

¹ The "foliated" variety ; cf. Randall-MacIver, *Iron Age*, p. 182, and p. 254 above.

running from the tenth to the seventh or sixth centuries B.C., whereas the Canale group run from the ninth to the beginning of the seventh century. At the latter site the evidence of the pottery supplements that of the fibulæ, and enables us to assert that the two sites are almost entirely contemporary (Torre Galli beginning a little earlier, and lasting a little later), despite the different varieties of fibulæ.

Again the Torre Galli pottery has certain similarities with the Campanian, and this together with the biconical jar found there, which is to be discussed presently, has led to the view that, not of course the Villanovans themselves, but a feeble trickle of Villanovan influence percolated as far south as the "toe" of Italy. Now it is perfectly clear that though the Sicel civilization there is fundamentally one and the same at Torre Galli and Canale, and also ultimately derived from Sicily, yet the two sides of the peninsula developed independently of one another and also independently of the contemporary civilization of Sicily itself. It remains for further exploration to show how much further north than the sites already excavated that Sicel civilization extended; meanwhile the difference in burial customs, as well as the marked differences in the material remains, distinguishes it just as definitely from the early iron age civilization north of the Tiber that we have learnt to call Villanovan.

7. BRONZES AND WEAPONS

One of the more interesting tombs at Canale (No. 89) included a number of metal objects, among them a bronze basin (there is a similar one of copper from another tomb) that reminds us of a line of Horace. It may have been just such an "antique" that he had seen, and had in mind, when he made Damasippus say

"olim quaerere amabam
quo uaffer ille pedes lauisset Sisyphus aere,"¹

Sisyphus being the traditional founder of Corinth, one of the most important homes of brass-work in early Greece. Indeed the bowls of hammered bronze, found both at Torre Galli and at Canale, as well as the two basins, were most probably imported

¹ *Serm.*, 2, 3, 20 f.

from pre-colonial Greece. This same tomb (no. 89) also contained two archaic bronze strigils, and in general its contents

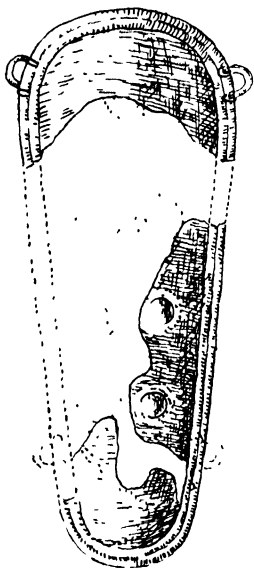


FIG. 128.—Bronze Greave
(Torre Galli).

show strongly the influence of ancient Greek culture. More important, however, are the weapons. At Torre Galli defensive weapons were found in abundance, from which it is argued that the inhabitants were a warlike people. The most interesting object of defensive armour, five specimens of which are recorded, is doubtless part of a bronze greave, similar to those found in Bosnia, but held to have reached southern Italy not directly from that source but through Greece. Defensive armour is not common, however, at Torre Galli; only these greaves, which apparently were used to protect the upper arm as well as the shin, are reported—no helmets or shields or corslets. The small dagger and the leaf-shaped spear-head of bronze, a type which in Sicily has a long history, reaching back even into the bronze age, and the concavo-convex knife, which is equally archaic in Italy, are both found, though in association with other objects that prove them still to have been in use in the eighth century. There are specimens also of the short sword with T-shaped hilt, well known in western central Italy. The iron ones are more numerous than the bronze, and the date therefore of these swords is probably from the eighth to the tenth century. They were perhaps manufactured locally, as Orsi holds, of the local iron, even though the type itself is ultimately Greek of late Mycenaean



FIG. 129.—
Bronze Sword
(Torre Galli).

date. Finally we have, still from Torre Galli, javelins and spears and the so-called "razors," both rectangular and oval, of the Italian type derived ultimately from the Danubian region of the bronze age, and to be distinguished carefully from the Mycenæan type (also rectangular) that was imported into Sicily and freely copied there.

But the short sword is strangely absent from Canale, just as the sword with the T-shaped hilt is also missing there, and there are other differences in armaments at the two sites. Thus the spear is commoner at Canale, and is more often made of iron than were the spears found at Torre Galli. Again it

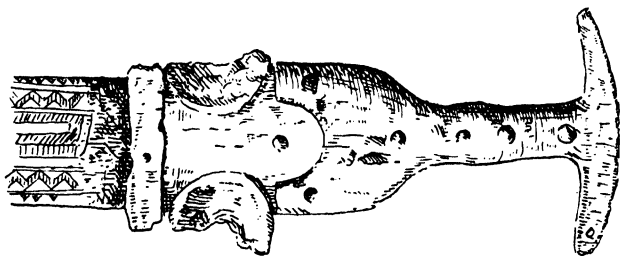


FIG. 130.—Ivory-covered Hilt of Iron Sword from Torre Galli.

would appear that the difference in external commercial contacts is chiefly responsible. It has been suggested, therefore, that the short swords, "though originally modelled on Ægean types, were actually at this period manufactured in Italy, and that the stream of commerce from Campania and Latium reached Torre Galli" but not the Canale sites which were separated by the mountainous heights of the central part of the peninsula; and, again, to account for the prevalence of iron at Canale, that it received its iron weapons solely from Greek sources, "unless the closer proximity of the Bruttian ironmines is to be considered a sufficient explanation".

8. ORNAMENTS

Among the ornaments worn by the Sicel inhabitants of the peninsula—chiefly the women—spiral bronze armlets are common at both sites, and objects of amber, glass, glaze, and more

precious substances. Amber was more easily procured, it would seem at Torre Galli, glass at Canale. But Canale has yielded twenty-one torques, which are as much unknown at Torre Galli as in Sicily. The silver rings, bracelets, brooch, pendant, and ear-rings found at Torre Galli are said to be definitely Greek in character, and the torque at Canale need not be Italian in origin. Gold is rare, and always in the form of small articles made from thin gold wire, such as bracelets. But there is an interesting series of pendants, zoomorphic or axe-shaped, from Torre Galli which have been compared with similar ones both from Sicily and from the site of Troy, so that no special importance is to be attached to them. The imported bronze bowls found at both sites, and the strigils at Canale have been mentioned already.

9. POTTERY

There remains the pottery, which raises some interesting problems. (1) *Torre Galli*. The chronological range of the Torre Galli pottery, very large quantities of which have been preserved, gives a lower limit of date for the settlement around 600-550 B.C., when Greek importations and copies from them are found side by side with the native wares. But the Greek pottery does not begin much before the end of the seventh century, proto-Corinthian being absent. The older native wares, older that is than the introduction of any Greek styles, were entirely hand-made of the local clay and burnt to a brown or dark-red colour, the surface being then burnished until it takes a metallic lustre. Unlike Canale, Torre Galli has no painted geometric wares, no doubt because it was off the high road by which the geometric pottery was distributed. On the other hand, the striking resemblance between the Torre Galli pottery and the pre-Hellenic Campanian and early Latian has been observed both by Orsi and Randall-MacIver. But there is considerable difference of opinion concerning not only the vase illustrated below, which is of a pattern found both in Etruria and in Campania, but also concerning the biconical, two-handled jar which at once recalls the typical biconical Villanovan urn. The question at issue is whether this type of biconical amphora which of course should not be spoken of as an urn (since the

Sicels did not cremate their dead), implies direct Villanovan contacts and associations in the Torre Galli culture, or even a sort of Villanovan colonization—perhaps at second-hand—of south Italy generally, including the extreme south. In the first

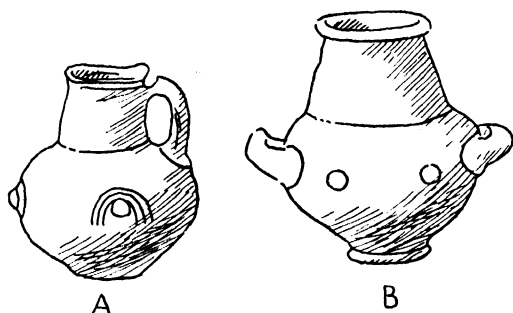


FIG. 131.—Native Pottery (Torre Galli).

place it should be remembered that the Villanovan ossuary was itself developed from a simple household vessel, or rather two vessels, placed one above the other, not necessarily at first for the purpose of disposing of the results of cremation. Hence the Torre Galli amphora and the Villanovan urn may have some-



FIG. 132.—Imported Geometric Pottery found at Canale.

thing in common, in that they may well have been derived from a common source. The likeness between the Torre Galli biconical vases and the Villanovan ossuary is so strong that it cannot be doubted that this form was distributed over south

as well as north Italy. Beyond this, however, the evidence does not warrant us to go; certainly it is quite unjustified to argue, on the basis of the biconical amphora alone, that the Sicels of Italy were in direct relation, commercial or other, with the Villanovans, from whom, no less than from the *terremare*-folk, they are totally distinct in culture and civilization.

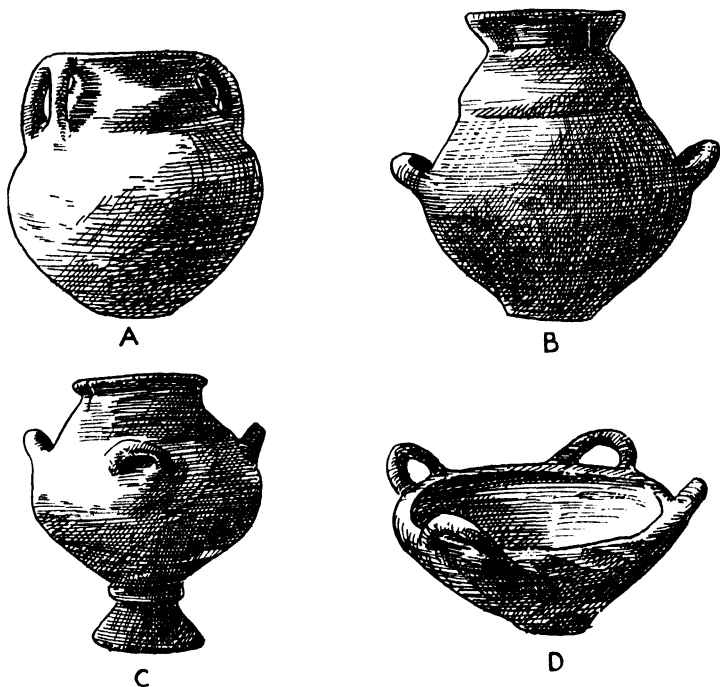


FIG. 133.—Native Pottery (Canale).

(2) *Canale* wares are of two classes, the native hand-made pottery, and the imported geometrical pottery made on the wheel. The former, which again is very abundant in quantity, is on the whole of the same types and forms as at Torre Galli—including the biconical amphora, somewhat degraded, passing rapidly under foreign influence, and less frequent in occurrence than on the west coast. By and large, the central Italian styles

are less frequent here, and conversely, types of Greek derivation become more numerous. There is but little or no attempt at surface decoration. The second class, painted pottery of definitely Greek shapes and foreign materials, is comparatively rare—some two dozen complete items all told. The patterns are simple geometric designs, bands and wavy lines, triangles and meanders, birds, and once a stag, but no human forms. It is confidently held that this ware was imported from the same sources as the corresponding Greek painted wares of the ninth and eighth centuries found in Sicily, where it gave rise to independent developments. No such independent developments take place at Canale, however, and the Greek importations perhaps continue for a century longer. Its precise place of origin in Greece has not been determined; both Argolis and Opuntian Locris have been suggested. But it does not appear in the Greek tombs of the later Epizephyrian Locrians themselves, and granted that the forerunners of the Locrians brought it to Canale, they may not have been Locrians themselves, or may have procured the pottery elsewhere than in Locris; what does follow is that the pre-Hellenic inhabitants of the Canale settlements were in occupation of the site from the ninth century onwards until the arrival of the Locrians put an end to their occupation at the beginning of the seventh century.

10. THE TORRE GALLI GRAVES

Thus the range of date at Canale is from about 900 to 700 B.C. or a little later; at Torre Galli, where the swords give the upper limit of date, it is from about 900 B.C. or a little earlier to about 550 B.C. The chamber-graves of Canale, so closely similar to the Sicilian graves that there can be no question of the origin of the Sicels of southern Italy, were described above (p. 341), but there is something to be added about the trench-graves of Torre Galli. Over three hundred were excavated by Orsi, and it is probable that the original number was nearer one thousand, many having been plundered by peasants before the scientific excavations were conducted. They were shallow oblong or elliptical trenches cut into the clay, the sides being strengthened by one or two rows of stones or bricks. Sometimes the interior of the

grave itself was hardened by fire. They may have been covered by low stone tumuli, or barrows of earth, but were otherwise unmarked. The very few cases of cremation at Torre Galli have been explained as "due to the infiltration of Greek elements," inhumation being the invariable practice of the native tribes. Neither at Torre Galli nor at Canale were wooden coffins used; instead the body was laid upon a bed of branches and herbs, just as in life—*instrata cubilia fronde* in the phrase of Lucretius.¹

II. TRADITION AND THE ROMANIZATION

These two now famous sites of Sicels in southern Italy lead us on to Sicily itself. The traditional history of the district, no less than its material and linguistic remains, tells us that by the time the Roman penetrated to the southernmost part of the land, more than one people had preceded them. Not only the Sicels, of the same neolithic stock as the people of Sicily and Italy as a whole, but also some Illyrians, then Greeks, and last Sabellians. The Bruttii of historical times were no doubt a mixed people, containing something from each of these sources (with the old neolithic element preponderating), to which, however, it is well-nigh impossible to fit the ethnic names, such as Morgetes and others, of the tradition. As we have seen there are a few local names, including some in *-nt-*, which may well be Illyrian; and apart from the Oscan, Greek, and Latin inscriptions of the region, four or five which are still to be classified; it is only a conjecture that they may prove to be Sicel.² Except for the Mamertine coup by which Messina was captured by a band of Campanian freebooters about 289 B.C., the Bruttii represent the southernmost expansion of Oscan-speaking Sabellian tribes. It is unnecessary to trace here the history of the Greek settlements, but we must observe once more that here also the masterful Greek language has held its own practically without a break from that

¹ 5, 987.

² They may be found reported in *Neapolis*, I, 1913, p. 165 (provenance uncertain); *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, p. 613 (Croton), *Italic Dialects*, II, p. 530 (with Addendum); cf. *Glotta*, 8, 1917, p. 140. Whether the equally difficult texts from more distant sites, *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, p. 474 (Potenza), and 362 (Brindisi), will fall with these into a Calabro-Apulian group of Sicel inscriptions is even more doubtful.

day to this.¹ None of the cities of the Bruttii is of outstanding importance, and the "ager Teuranus" near Thurii has achieved renown only by the accident that the sole surviving copy of the *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* of 186 B.C. was set up there. But that document is interesting not only as a specimen of Latin, untouched by later revisions or medieval scribes, that dates from the time of Plautus, who died in 184 B.C., but also as illustrating the permeation of the Italic tribes, at least everywhere except in mountain fastnesses, as well as Rome itself, by Greek cults and practices that had already come to be thought a dangerous menace before the beginning of the second century B.C. In alliance with the Lucanians, the Bruttii had made war on the Greek colonies of the coast, and seized Vibo in 356 B.C. Though for a time they were overcome by the Greeks who were aided by Alexander of Epirus and Agathocles of Syracuse, they re-asserted their mastery of the town from about the beginning of the third century B.C. and held it until at the end of the same century it became a Latin colony. Its history tells in epitome the history of the coastal districts from the coming of the Bruttii until the beginning of the Romanization. Inland the region was hardly touched by Roman or Latin influences until the beginning of the Christian era; and "old Calabria" still remains one of the parts of Italy least affected by the main current of our twentieth-century civilization.

¹ Cf. p. 300, n. 1, and see also G. Rohlfs, *Scavi linguistici nella Magna Grecia*, Rome, 1933, with articles by the same writer in *Arch. Stor. per la Calabria e la Lucania*, 2, 1932, pp. 405 ff.; 3, 1933, pp. 231 ff.; and also his *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der unteritalienischen Dialekte*, Halle, 1930, and *Dizionario dialettale delle tre Calabrie . . . con note etimologiche e un' introduzione sulla storia dei dialetti calabresi*, Halle and Milan, since 1932 (in progress), *passim*. The few Greek-speaking enclaves are, of course, small in numbers.

CHAPTER XVI

SICILY AND THE OTHER ISLANDS

I. INTRODUCTORY

THE story of the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Malta with Gozo, and the small islands of the Maltese group, and Pantelleria, is by no means an integral part of the story of the Italian peninsula. It is rather an appendix than a continuation. The prehistory of the islands, so soon as it begins to show in any detail, is quite distinct from and independent of that of the mainland—apart that is to say, from their common occupation by men of the Mediterranean race; and, more particularly, apart from the hints, still rather vague, that we have already had occasion to observe of what may yet prove to have been an Apulo-Calabrio-Siculan culture that linked together, at least during the neolithic and bronze ages Sicily and south Italy—whatever its more remote affiliations. But these hints are still so vague that it is possible to speak of a “complete divorce between Sicily and Italy throughout all prehistoric time”. At the other end of our time-scale, the Augustan unification of Italy, the divorce persists in the continued organization¹ of Sicily as a separate province, although, from the days of the Greek colonization Sicily and Italy, especially southern Italy, had gradually drawn closer together culturally, and between Rome and Sicily there had been close contact, commercial and political, from the days of the First Punic war and even before. There is, in fact, a considerable number of words, all connected with trade, shared by Latin and by Sikel, which Mommsen and others have held to indicate commercial relationships between Rome and Sicily or a very remote antiquity; it may, however, be questioned whether

¹ Sicily was first organized as a Roman province in 227 B.C.

these words are not due rather to a common Indo-European inheritance than to borrowing.¹ Be that as it may, archæologically Sicily is independent of Italy throughout the early iron age until Hellenism began to affect both. Likewise Corsica and Sardinia are independent culturally in the periods preceding the Romanization, and always remained politically independent of the Roman organization of Italy.

2. SICILY: SICELS AND SICANS

1. We begin with *Sicily*. Neither anthropology nor archæology countenances the traditional account of the Sicans and Sicels as racially distinct. The name Sican has, indeed, come to be used as an archæological label for remains of the neolithic period found in Sicily, but there is nowhere, from early neolithic times onward, a break in the continuity of cultural development of the kind that would justify the assumption of two distinct races, Sicans (of Iberian origin) and Sicels (of Italian origin) such as the tradition implies, even granted, what is steadily becoming clearer, that at the beginning of the neolithic period, Sicily shared with Spain in a wave of influence that affected western Europe as a whole, and that there may have been a small movement of people from Iberia² to Sicily. The relationship between the Sicels of Sicily and the Sicels of Italy we have already seen to be very different from what the tradition asserts, a few grains of truth though there be in the tradition. On the linguistic side there is absolutely no evidence; although there has recently been found near Comiso a rectangular bronze plate with fourteen lines of linear script, still far from being deciphered, much less translated, which one authority³ has been daring enough to claim as "Sican". As for the ethnica *Sicani* and *Siculi* themselves, there is nothing to prevent us from supposing them to be cognate, though the etymology is doubtful.⁴ Anthropologically the entire island is one; the Mediterranean

¹ See the discussion in *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, pp. 457 f.

² Even if, what is very likely, the ending *-sb*, *-ibas* on coins of Eryx, Segesta, and Panormus was Iberian (see *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, pp. 473 f.), that proves nothing for so remote a period as the neolithic.

³ Ribezzo, *Riv. I.-G.-I.* 11, 1927, pp. 246 ff. Cf. *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, p. 613.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 433, n. 1; cf. pp. 478, 483, with p. 159. The variation in quantity (Greek *Σικῶν* but Latin *Sicāni*) is hardly significant without other evidence.

race everywhere predominates, with mere scattered and unimportant indications of the survival of an older type of man.¹

3. CHRONOLOGICAL DIVISIONS

The Sicilian remains of later date than the neolithic or so-called "Sican" period are classified into four chronological subdivisions ending about 500 B.C., by which date anything that can be called native had been completely merged in and swamped by the Greek civilization of the Greek colonies of Sicily. Thus we have first (Sicel I) the remains of the chalcolithic age (down to about 1400 B.C., or a hundred years later), then of the full bronze age (Sicel II, lasting to about 900 B.C., so as to include the opening of the early iron age), followed by a period, Sicel III (c. 900 to 700 B.C.), and by a Siculo-Greek period, Sicel IV (c. 700 to 500 B.C.), though Greek influences (as distinguished from Mycenæan and Ægean) are apparent in the development of a hybrid school of pottery which begins in the third period. Thus the purely Sicel civilization belongs to the periods Sicel I and II, which have yielded the most characteristically Sicel products. It reached its height about the thirteenth century B.C., in the second Sicel period, but it is even then no longer free from external influence, Mycenæan imports being quite frequent in that period and of course ceasing before its end; in the third period there is already a marked decadence of the native civilization.

4. SICILY IN THE EARLY IRON AGE

The chief features of the stone and bronze age civilizations in Sicily have been described in Chapter III. Here we are concerned with Sicily in the early iron age. The geographical position of Sicily might hardly have led us to expect that Ægean traders would reach it earlier than the mainland of Italy; yet such is the case. Mycenæan imports of the kind found in Sicily in the period Sicel II are unknown in Italy and this distinction only emphasizes the complete separation of Sicily from the mainland that endured until the Greek colonization began. Again we find that specifically Greek wares reached Sicily early

¹ Sergi, *Italia - le origini*, pp. 165 ff

(especially at the coastal Sikel sites that were destined in due course to be colonized by the Greeks), at a date, that is, earlier than the actual colonization. Here, however, there is a certain analogy with Italy, for, as we saw in the last chapter, at Canale there is found in the native settlements imported Greek pottery which may well have come from the same source as the models on which Siculo-Greek wares of the periods Sikel III and IV were fashioned. In general, however, it may be said that before the coming of the Greeks and Carthaginians Sicily was free from foreign immigration and from foreign influences both from Italy and from elsewhere; surrounded by the ocean and separated from the mainland by the dangerous straits of Messina, it went its own way, developing its own civilization on its own lines, through all the long period of time that separates the dawn of the stone ages to the acme that is reached in the bronze

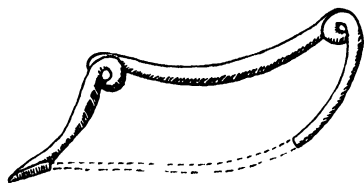


FIG. 134.—Sicilian Bronze Fibula.

age. And despite such trading contacts as undoubtedly there were in the bronze age with Mycenæan and sub-Mycenæan Greece, as indicated by pottery, weapons, and fibulæ, the essential features of Sikel civilization were unaffected by them.

Hence the transition from the period Sikel II to Sikel III which ushers in the iron age, is gradual and almost imperceptible. Most striking is the presence of a new type of fibula, the "two-eyed" pattern, which coincides with the beginning of the early iron age in Sicily, but not its end; for this fibula has a long life, and lasts altogether some five hundred years, beginning about 1000 B.C. It is accompanied by a certain decline in the native civilization, clearly observable in the pottery, by reason of the earliest indications of foreign influence which led first to the development a mixed Siculo-Greek style of geometric pottery and in the end to the complete submergence of the native Sikel culture and with it to the loss of Sikel independence. Beginning with objects of Greek origin, we next find them copied and imitated in Sicily, and at last there emerges the definitely Hellenic civilization that completely supplanted the Sikel. The paucity

of metal objects that have survived to illustrate these changes, as compared with earthenware, is due to the fact that most of the tombs had been despoiled before modern excavators discovered them. Their loss is in some measure compensated for by the discovery of hoards of worked and unworked bronze, the former consisting of spear-heads, girdles, fibulæ, swords and knives, ornaments of rings, chain-work, bronze spirals and the like, but at the same time these objects, no less than the complete tomb-groups discovered at several sites, give us no ground for modifying the view that the Sicel civilization and national life had begun to wane centuries before the final spurt of vitality that immediately preceded its extinction during the Peloponnesian war in the fifth century B.C.

5. SICEL SITES : FINOCCHITO

Within the last half-century excavations have been conducted at a very large number of sites shown by the objects unearthed to belong to one or another of the four Sicel periods, in most cases by the veteran archæologist of Syracuse, Paolo Orsi. They are by no means confined to the eastern part of the island, though the fact that Orsi's activity was restricted to its eastern provinces has resulted in the discovery of by far the largest number of sites there.¹ It is probable, however, that if the same energy were devoted to exploration in the west that he has shown in the east, the number of Sicel sites west of Gela would be greatly increased. There is a remarkable similarity in the general character of the remains belonging to the periods Sicel III and IV from most of these sites. It is generally agreed that of the sites dated to the

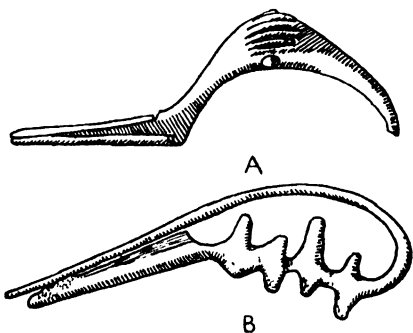


FIG. 135.—Bronze Fibulæ (Finocchito).

¹ See, for example, the map in Ebert, *Reallexikon*, 12, 1928, p. 124. [The news of Orsi's death has come while these pages were passing through the press.—June, 1936.]

third period—Pantalica (south), Filiporto, Cavetta, Tremenzano, S. Angelo Muxaro, among them—that of Finocchito, a little over six miles west of Noto (the ancient *Netum*, said by ancient authority to have been occupied by Sicels), may be considered typical. Here, over two hundred and fifty rock-cut tombs, carved in the

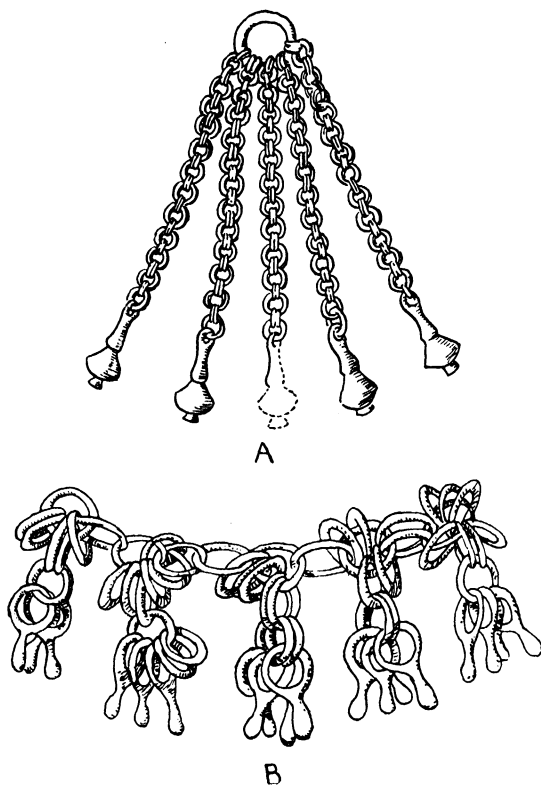


FIG. 136.—Bronze Pendants (Finocchito).

face of the cliff, were examined by Orsi. The tombs themselves are regularly plain rectangular chambers, approached by a short vestibule and originally closed by a stone slab and perhaps also in many cases by a barricade of dry masonry. Within the dead were laid on the ground, stretched out at full length or with the knees

slightly bent. There is no longer the bench running round the sides of the tombs as in the earlier Sicel periods, nor the provision for an elaborate banquet of the dead, but a much simpler equipment consisting chiefly of pottery manufactured locally in common-place styles.

Typical ornaments worn by the dead are finger rings, usually of bronze, bronze and iron fibulæ of various patterns (serpentine, boat fibulæ, and the characteristic "two-eyed" fibula), necklaces and pendants of rather simple chain-work, bronze and amber beads, armlets and the like. The pottery is no more pretentious. In each tomb there would be a few water-jars and other pots, sometimes a mixture of imported proto-Hellenic geometric wares with the native pottery. It is only too obvious that the Sicels had entered upon a period of decline that was not due to dispossession by the Greeks. Indeed it is rather the case that the new external influence gave a fillip to their failing skill. But it was only a temporary stimulus; very quickly the Greek styles entirely overwhelmed all that remained of native Sicel powers of initiative and invention. Special attention may be called to one of the Lentini tomb-groups in which were found side by side specimens of native wares pure and simple, of imported Greek pottery, and of the mixed Siculo-Greek style which resulted from the fusion of the two.

6. SICULO-GREEK POTTERY

The geometric pottery of the mixed Siculo-Greek school is interesting and important not only because it has been dated accurately with the help of associated Greek finds, but also for the bearing which it has on the evolution of the painted pottery at Canale on the mainland. This unquestionably shows analogies with at least the models on which the Siculo-Greek wares were based, if not with those wares themselves. The modern site of Licodia Eubea, a few miles south of Mineo (identified with the ancient *Μεγαί* or *Μέγαλον*, the foundation of which was ascribed to Ducetius), and on the ancient highway from the old Sicel towns of Catane (Catania) and Leontini (Lentini) to Gela and Camarina, has yielded from numerous Sicel cemeteries large quantities of Siculo-Greek pottery. Chronologically it belongs to the seventh, sixth, and fifth centuries B.C., as is proved by the



FIG. 137.—Geometric Græco-Siculan Ware.

Greek pottery—Attic and Corinthian—and by ornaments found with it; thus it belongs to the fourth Sicel (or rather Siculo-Greek) period, but it should be observed that other sites have yielded specimens of the same mixed style of earlier date, for example Sant' Aloe near Lentini. In other words the style overlaps from the period Sicel III to Sicel IV. The graves from which it came are always native Sicel graves, never Greek. In form this pottery is in part copied from Greek patterns, in part a revival or modification of native wares. The material is a coarse clay, containing vulcanic detritus, which is a clear proof of its place of origin (not far from Mount Etna), covered with a white slip on which were painted, in brown, red, or black colours, simple geometrical patterns. It has been well described as "export pottery sent up from the settlements on the coast to the Siculan villages on the plateaux," and as either "manufactured in Greek factories for the Siculan market, or . . . produced by native potters apprenticed to Greek masters".

Besides Licodia Eubea, Finocchito and Lentini are also important for the early iron age in Sicily. At Lentini there has been found a small amphora, decorated with water-birds, in Dipylon style, certainly older than 700 B.C., and probably imported. At Finocchito, too, there are several early Greek pieces of contemporary date, and of a style unknown in the oldest Greek colonies in Sicily. It marks a point a little older than the beginning of that Greek influence on the native potters which produced the developed Siculo-Greek styles with their imitation of Greek forms and of geometric designs, starting in the eighth century B.C. and lasting until about 500 B.C. when it completely disappears. The similarities between its Greek originals and the Canale ware have led to the conclusion that they had at least in part a common source; possibly that source may be found in Cyprus, if the strong resemblance of the Sicilian and contemporary Cypriote wares may be taken as a trustworthy guide.

7. THE EVIDENCE OF LANGUAGE

We saw in the last chapter (p. 339) how archæological discovery has thrown a new light on the statements of ancient authors that the Sicels once lived in Italy as well as in Sicily,

what the nature of that Sikel occupation of southern Italy was, and what kind of interpretation may justifiably be given to the ancient tradition. But archæology gives no support whatever to the legends¹ which separate Sicans and Sicels, or which identify the Sicels with the Ligurians and with the inhabitants of western Italy, central and southern, at large. Linguistically speaking, these legends seem to have more foundation, since there are marked agreements between Sikel and Ligurian toponymy and even vocabulary,² as well as between the fragments of the Sikel dialect and Latin. On the other hand, Sikel and Illyrian have something in common. The solution of this enigma would appear to be, so far, simply first that since Sikel, no less than Ligurian, Illyrian, and of course Latin, are all Indo-European tongues, they are bound to have some points of agreement; and second that Latin and Sikel may well have borrowed words, the one from the other. It is difficult to detect, or at any rate to prove, which are the borrowed words, and which the words of common inheritance since our knowledge of Sikel is still very scanty. But "Italic" words in Sikel are no doubt genuinely Sikel, for the Sicels of Italy came from Sicily, not the Sicilian Sicels from Italy. Again the Sikel words that resemble Latin words closely, are, in the aggregate, too numerous, too varied in type, and some of them too early in date³ for the explanation that they were all borrowed from Latin to be valid. Moreover, certain Sikel words show phonetic features which distinguish them from Latin and from Greek (another possible source of borrowing for a number of them), and it would be rash to decide on our available evidence, that all the Sikel words which can obviously be connected with Greek or Latin forms should be regarded as mere borrowings. Perhaps a few words, such as Latin *miser* and Greek *μισαρός*, irregular equally in Latin and Greek, were taken from Sicilian comedy, which seems to have incorporated a number of native Sikel terms. Finally the suggestion that Sikel will yet prove to be an Illyrian dialect, related to Messapic, a hypothesis which is attractive on several grounds, also remains to be proved.

¹ Summarized in *Prae-Italic Dialects*, II, pp. 431 f.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 438 f.

³ For example, the hare (Sikel *λέπος*, cf. Lig. *λεβηρίς*, Latin *lepus*) is said to have been introduced into Sicily about 480 B.C.; cf. *Prae-Italic Dialects*, II, pp. 454, 458.

8. THE SICEL DIALECT

The records of the Sikel dialect are five inscriptions,¹ a few coin-legends, a large number of glosses (these are of very unequal value), and the proper names, especially the local names, of ancient Sicily. The inscriptions belong to the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., that is to the closing centuries, the very end of the independent Sikel existence, just before it was completely absorbed into Greek life, and are written in a variety of the western Greek alphabet, derived no doubt from the Chalcidian colonies of Magna Græcia²—Rhegium, Zancle (Messina), Mylæ, Naxos, Leontini, Catane and Himera, most of which occupied sites previously Sikel. The three most important documents came from the Sikel sites of Centuripa and Hadranum (Adernò). Taken altogether the remains of the dialect prove beyond question that it was Indo-European, distinct not only from Greek (Sikel must not be confused, as it often has been, both by the ancients and by modern students, with Siceliot Greek) and from Latin. Beyond that our evidence, as yet, does not warrant us to go. Of special interest in the Centuripa inscription are the words *hemitom* (cf. ἡμίνα), *esti* ("is"), *durom* (cf. Latin *durus* or Greek δῶρον?), *vino* (cf. Latin *uinum*), *brtom* (Latin *gratus*, Oscan *bratom*, Gaulish *βρατομ*), *stainam* (cf. Gr. σταγών, or Gothic *stains*, in U.S.A. German *Stein*), *nepos* (Lat. *nepos*, cf. νέποδες in Theocritus), *maru* (cf. Umbro-Latin *maro*). The two inscriptions on tiles from Adernò are fragmentary, but *dvihitum* may be a divine name, the name of the local war-god called also *Hadranus*, if it is to be compared with old Latin *duellona* (that is Bellona). The coin-legends of Zancle give us the true form of its name, viz. δανκλῆ, which is said, beyond all question rightly, to have been the Sikel word for a "sickle". Among the glosses of special interest are (besides ζάγκλον or δάγκλον), γέλα "frost," κάτινος

¹ *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, nos. 576-578, together with Suppl. I (*Class. Philol.* 29, 1934), p. 281, n. 1 (after Ribezzo, *Riv. I.-G.-I.* 17, 1933, pp. 197 ff.), if genuine, this new document appears to me to be Sikel rather than Sican, cf. Pisani, *Italica*, Rome, 1934, pp. 1-9. Some other doubtful texts are reported in *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, pp. 613, 626 (cf. p. 353, n. 2 above on the Bruttian (Sikel?) insc.); add Toscanelli, *Origini Italiche*, I, 1914, p. 589, n. 1 (after Orsi, *Riv. di Stor. ant.*, 1900, p. 60).

² *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, pp. 540 ff.

“dish,” *μοῦτον* “loan,” *momar* “stupid”; and among the proper names, the divine names *Λάγεις* (cf. Messapic *logetibas*), *Νῆστις*, *Σιμαλῖς* (cf. Latin *simila*, *similago*; the pure Greek form is *Ἰμαλῖς*), the local names *Βρικιννῖαι* (cf. Messapic *brigannas*), *Αἴτνη* (cf. Latin *ædes*, Gr. *αἶθω*, like Sicel *λίτρα* beside Latin *libra*), *Ταῦρος*, the three names that are also Ligurian (*Eryx*, *Entella*, *Segesta*); and last, among the personal names, that of *Δουκέτιος* himself “il duce” (cf. Latin *dux*, with the same ending as in *Peucetii*, *Lucetius*).

9. WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

It is interesting to observe that the Sicels had a native system of weights and measures, based, like the Italian, on bronze. Not a few of its vocables are common, indeed, to Latin and Sicel—*λίτρα* (*libra*), *ὀγκία* (*uncia*), *τριᾶς* (three-twelfths of the *λίτρα*, cf. Latin *triens*, which was actually borrowed as *τριῆνς*). We have seen that the commercial relationships of Sicily with Rome began early (p. 355 above), and it is perhaps noteworthy in this connexion that both Latin *emo* (properly “take,” cf. *redimo*, then “take in exchange (for barter or money)” and so “buy”), and the Sicilian Doric *λαμβάνω* “buy” underwent the same change of meaning. It may well be that the Naxian wine (*vinom naʒom*)¹ which was exported to the foot-hills of the Alps came from the Sicilian Naxos, though the wines of the Ægean island were more famous; yet

“quot Siculi Phrygibus uini donauerit (sc.
Acestes) urnas”

was a posér set to the Roman schoolmaster.²

10. THE END OF SICEL LIFE

We need not pursue here the history of Sicily further into the period when it was settled by Carthaginians in the west and by the Greeks in the east, or still later when first the mastery of the land became an issue between Rome and Carthage, and then its conquest made it one of the Roman granaries, as well as a

¹ Cf. p. 136 above.

² Juv., 7, 236; cf. Verg., *Æn.*, 5, 73 ff.

happy hunting ground for unscrupulous Roman collectors of Greek art. While Rome was growing powerful, the Sicels had their vigour sapped by the Greek and Carthaginian settlers, and the island was almost ready to fall, once the Carthaginian had been defeated, into the hands of Rome. The Sicels who escaped foreign influences survived only in the hill-country, where the possibility of a national life was cut short. A solitary attempt to unite them into a national power, able to resist the Greeks, was made under Ducetius in the middle of the fifth century. But the fate of its leader sealed its doom, and after the Athenian disaster at Syracuse, the Sicels are mere pawns in the game between the tyrants of the Greek cities and the Carthaginians, until at last Rome made herself mistress of the whole island. The modern Sicilian dialect goes back to this Roman conquest, but it shows something also of the older Greek colonization (as well as of later Arabic and Albanian elements), if nothing of the speech of the Sicels who gave to the island its ancient and modern name.

II. SARDINIA

2. *Sardinia*.—As compared with Sicily, both Sardinia and Corsica have always kept somewhat aloof from the main currents of Mediterranean life. To this day they still retain something of their primitive character, both in their natural features—much of the original woodlands having survived—and in the habits and equipment of the people, as for example, in the old wooden plough. Even in historical times the Sardinians remained mountaineers, semi-barbarian cave-dwellers, living chiefly by plunder whenever it came their way; by mining, for their island, like Elba off the coast of Populonia with its iron ore, is rich in minerals; and engaging in agriculture only so much as they were obliged to do in order to live. The population of the two islands, in both ancient and modern times, is perhaps as pure a specimen of the Mediterranean race as can be found, extremely long headed, dark skinned, black haired, and of short stature. Sergi indeed considers that in Sardinia there is an unusually large proportion of skulls, from the famous cemetery of Anghelu Ruju and elsewhere, which he refers to his hybrid “homo

heoanthropus eurasicus," but the data on which he based his results have been disputed, and in any event his "eurasicus" type he holds to be in part Mediterranean in origin.¹

12. THE BRONZE AGE IN SARDINIA

The only period in the prehistory of Sardinia of which we have a clear picture is the bronze age, the remains of which have been studied by the two Sardinian archæologists Nissardi and Tarramelli.² But there is still wanting from the evidence criteria of the kind by means of which we might follow the archæological history of the island in definite chronological subdivisions, and especially might obtain surer lines of demarcation for all the material that antedates the Punic and Roman periods. It is clear, however that the native civilization reached its acme in the bronze age, between which and the chalcolithic period a definite line can hardly be drawn; again, the prehistoric population, so slightly or not at all affected by the eventful history of the mainland in the early iron age, remained so stable, cut off as it was from practically all external influences, that it preserved its physical characteristics and apparently its culture almost unchanged right down into Roman times, especially in the east and in the mountainous interior, where the Carthaginians failed to establish themselves. The bronze age passes into the iron age almost imperceptibly and there can have been no thoroughgoing changes in the cultural or social make-up of the people such as affected Italy and Sicily.

13. THE MEGALITHIC REMAINS

Megalithic monuments (dolmens, menhirs, the *nuraghi*, the so-called "giants' graves,") and inhabited caves, rock-cut tombs, the "domus de gianas (or zanas)," remains of circular temples, and an important group of bronze statuettes constitute the most conspicuous remains of the Sardinian bronze age. Over five thousand *nuraghi* are said to be traceable, some of them very well preserved. It has been much disputed for what purpose they

¹ Cf. Sergi, *Italia: le origini*, pp. 94, 169 ff.

² See the bibliography in von Duhn's *Graberkunde*, I, pp. 94 ff., and in Bellieni (p. 380 infr.), pp. 11 f.

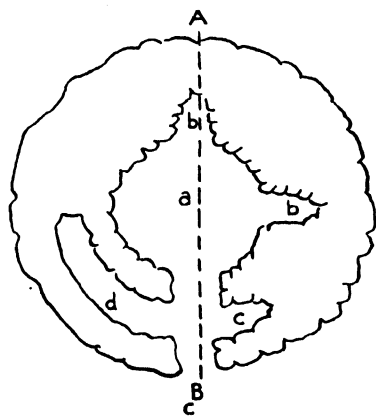
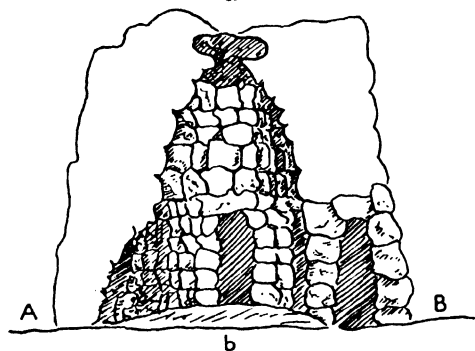
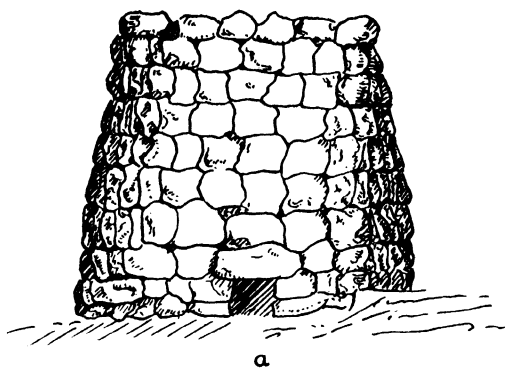


FIG. 138.—A Sardinian *nuraghe*.

were built, but it is now generally agreed that they were not tombs but fortified dwellings. In its simplest form a *nuraghe* is a circular tower in the form of a truncated cone, about thirty feet in diameter at the base and decreasing in diameter as it ascends. It is built, without mortar, of large stones, sometimes two feet high, arranged in fairly regular courses, the gaps between them often being filled in with clay on the inside. There is an entrance, usually facing south, some six feet high and two feet wide and just within it a niche on the right and a winding stairway on the

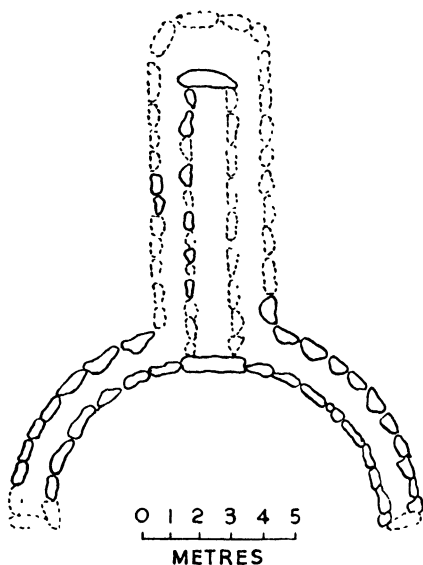


FIG. 139.—A Sardinian "Giant's Grave".

left that leads through the thick walls to upper chambers, the ground floor being occupied by an interior circular chamber about fifteen feet in diameter. This is approached by a doorway (beyond the main entrance) that serves to light it, generally has two or three niches, and a conical roof formed by the gradually approaching courses of masonry. This simple type of *nuraghe* was no doubt evolved from a much simpler form of round hut. But it also leads

to much more elaborate structures—fortifications consisting of an added platform supported by walls, towers, and two to four bastions each of which may also contain a chamber. There is occasionally even a wall of circumvallation with towers at the corners, protecting an entire settlement of *nuraghe*-like structures, as at Losa near Abbasanta and Sanrecci near Guspini. Or again, we may find a system of courtyards and subsidiary *nuraghi*. Regularly the *nuraghi* were built at sites of strategic value with good natural defences, as at fords of rivers, in narrow gorges, mountain tops

and the summits of ridges, the approaches to plateaux; and there is some reason for believing that a system of signalling from one *nuraghe* to another was in use.

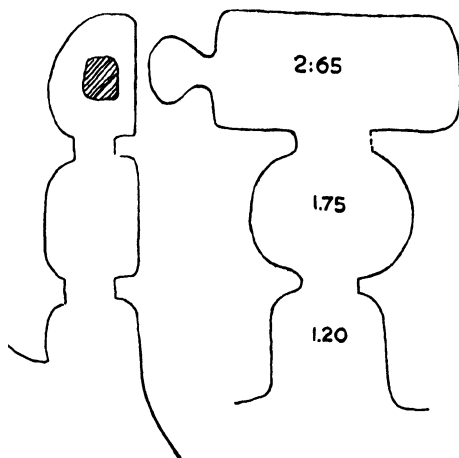


FIG. 140.—Sardinian Rock-tomb.

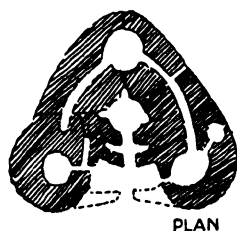


FIG. 141.—Plan and Section of Sardinian *nuraghe*.

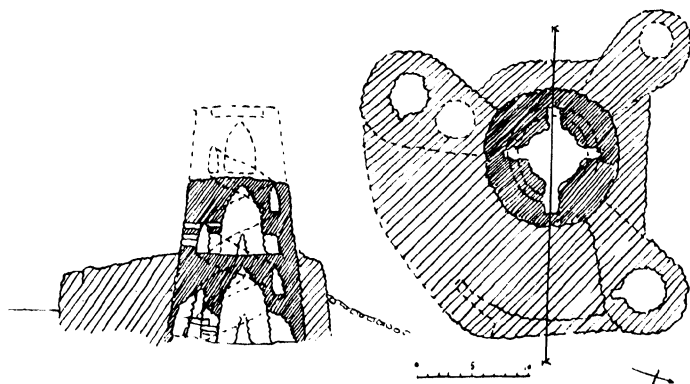


FIG. 142.—Plan and Section of Sardinian *nuraghe*.

Within the *nuraghi* household pottery, and near them pits containing carbonized grain are found, clearly indicating that they were dwellings. Obsidian chips and arrow-heads also occur

in and near them. Occasionally there is an entire village settlement of *nuraghe*-like structures on a small scale, fifteen to twenty-five feet in diameter, and dominated by one large *nuraghe*. The distribution of *nuraghi* all over the island, except in the north-east extremity, suggests that the population was almost entirely homogeneous.

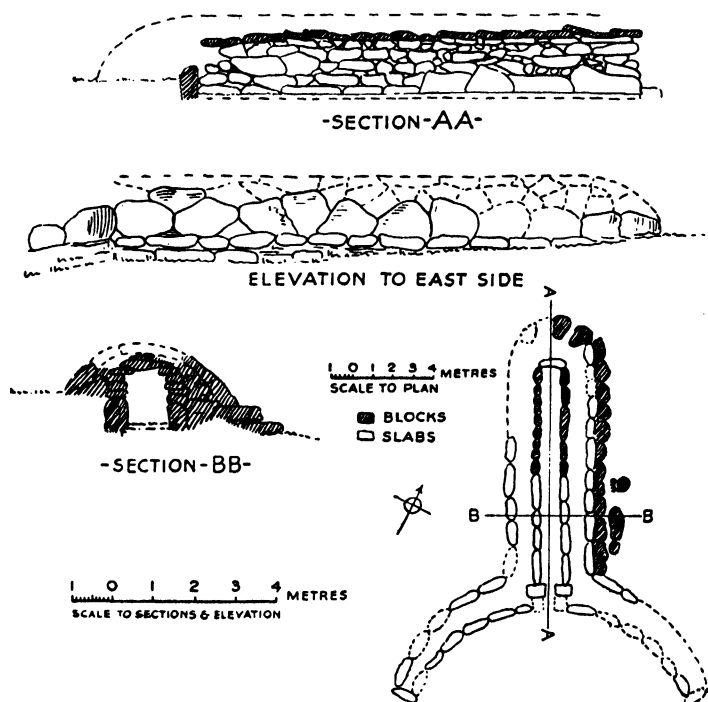


FIG. 143.—Megalithic Sardinian Burial-place.

The tombs of this population fall into two classes, first the so-called "dwellings of the fairies" (*domus de gianas*), which are rock-cut tombs not unlike the Sicilian chamber-graves, small grottos cut into the rock, and second the so-called "giants' graves," long rectangular structures of upright slabs used for family interments, and derived from dolmens by the addition of elongated chambers. It has been well observed that the rare

"combination of dolmen and rock-cut tomb," and also the imitation of the façades of the "giants' graves" in the rock-cut tomb, show that in Sardinia "all these varieties (of burial-place) are due to the same race". The burial rite is inhumation. A typical "giant's grave" consists of a chamber forty feet long, more or less, some three and a half feet high; the sides, which incline slightly towards each other at the top are built of slabs of stone or rough masonry, and the roof itself of flat slabs. The entrance was closed by an enormous slab fitted into a curved façade formed of two rows of slabs or two small walls so as to leave a semicircular area, which it is conjectured was used for sacrifices. There is usually an aperture in the large central slab through which offerings could be passed. The whole seems to have been covered by a mound of earth; and near-by there are often small round enclosures, covered with a heap of stones, held to have been the burial-places of slaves or dependents of the family buried in the great family tomb.

Of especial interest are the temples discovered in recent years by Taramelli. These are circular in construction and were regularly built over a sacred spring or well. With them is associated the cult of the sacred pillar and also of a deity who took the form of a bull, as the large stone bulls' heads from the front of the temples show. It is difficult not to admit in these the evidence of oriental influence, as also in the indications of ordeal by water, and of "incubation" (that is, of sleeping in a temple in the hope of receiving a divine revelation in a dream).

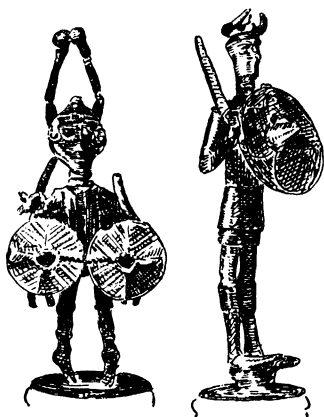


FIG. 144.—Bronze Statuettes, Sardinia (Bronze Age).

14. THE SARDINIAN DIALECT

We have practically no trace whatever of the native speech of the pre-Roman Sardinians other than the ancient local names.

Careful study of these has led to certain comparisons with the ancient proper names of Spain, Liguria, and of north Africa, which have some validity, or at least do not conflict with the ancient traditions of Iberian, Ligurian, and Carthaginian elements in the ancient population of the island. If Sardinian was affected at all by Ligurian immigrants,¹ it is possible that some Sardinian

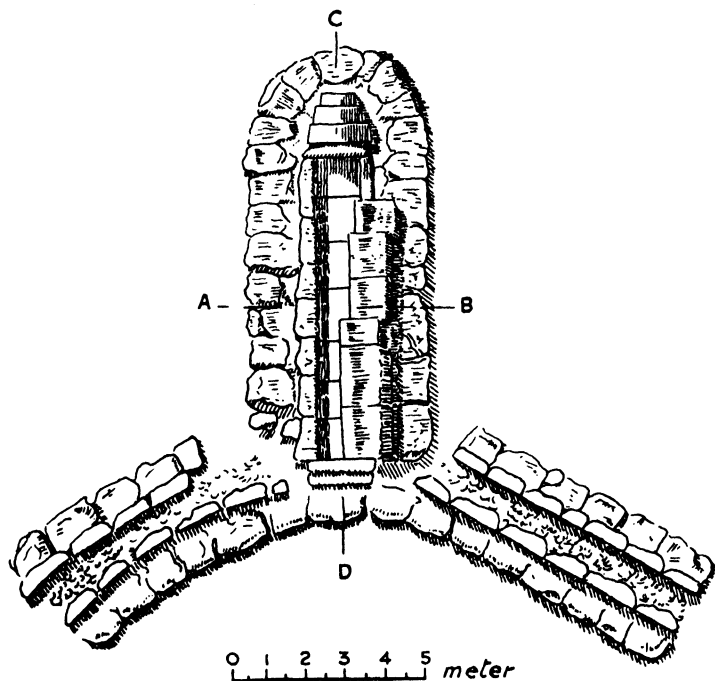


FIG. 145.—Megalithic Tomb (Dorgali).

words may be of Ligurian origin, e.g. *mastruca*, though a Phœnician origin is perhaps as likely. The Carthaginian settlements (beginning about 550 B.C.) were all on the coast, and the influence of the Phœnicians seems never to have penetrated far inland,² even though the island became an important grain-producing

¹ Cf. Diod., 5, 39, 8.

² For Punic and neo-Punic inscriptions of Sardinia see *C.I.S.* i, 139 ff., i, 149. The Greek inscriptions of the island may be found in *I.G.* 14, 605 ff.

centre under the guidance of the Carthaginians. The Greek colonies of Olbia (now Terranova) on the north-east coast, and Neapolis on the west coast, seem to have been established—perhaps from Massilia—after the oldest Phœnician settlements, but before the Carthaginian, which cut short all attempt at further Greek expansion. The Romans, who always held the Sardinians in contempt—*Sardi uenales : alius alio nequior* was the proverb—first sent an expedition to Sardinia, during the First Punic War, in 259 B.C. ; for there is little good reason for attaching much importance to the account, given only in Diodorus Siculus,¹ of five hundred “ colonists ” sent to the island by Rome in 378 B.C. Hence the Romance dialects of Sardinia, that of Logudoro (the central province) and that of Campidano (the southern province) are not only superimposed upon a peculiar linguistic substratum, but also represent the oldest Latin planted outside Italy and Sicily. In fact the dialect of Logudoro, which is distinguished by several peculiar features from other Romance languages, may almost be described as still a rudimentary Romance vernacular : it still has the pronunciation of *c* before front vowels as a palatal plosive as in classical Latin, and Latinisms like *kraze* “ cras ” (instead of the Italian “ domani ”) abound in its vocabulary.

15. CORSICA

3. *Corsica* in prehistoric times ² is still almost entirely a “ terra incognita ”. That there was some sort of contact between it and Sardinia in the chalcolithic period is known from the discovery of obsidian from Sardinia in the island, and of Corsican quartz and serpentine in Sardinia. The megalithic monuments, menhirs, dolmens, and a cromlech, which are found, with few exceptions, only in the northern and south-western ends of the islands, probably belong to that same period, though definite evidence is lacking. In the north, burials of the bronze age have come to light ; but curiously enough there has been no trace discovered as yet of dwellings, such as the round huts which might have been expected in association with the dolmens.

Thus the ethnic affiliations of the earliest population of

¹ 15, 27.

² See von Duhn, *Graberkunde*, 1, pp. 112 ff.

Corsica are still entirely unknown. There is a tradition, preserved in Seneca,¹ that to the original Iberian stock had been added a Ligurian element, and the ancient Corsican word *mufro*, *musmo* may have been of Ligurian derivation (cf. French *moufflon* and possibly even Sicel *momar*). Some of the ancient local names of Corsica have Iberian analogues, and if the statement of Diodorus² may be trusted, that the Corsicans practised the rite known as *convade*, as the Iberians also are said to have done, it would seem that the island probably received part of its population from Iberia.

The attempted Phocæan colonization (Alalia, 564 B.C.) was defeated within thirty years by the joint attack of the Carthaginians and Etruscans, the latter being left in control of the island until Rome became interested in it in the First Punic War. Together with Sardinia it became a Roman province in 231 B.C., from which point the Latinization begins.

16. MALTA AND PANTELLERIA

4. *Malta*.—The story of prehistoric Malta and the Maltese islands falls chiefly in the stone ages. Moreover, it is totally distinct from everything that we have had to consider so far. Hence only the briefest summary is given of what is now a fascinating and by no means meagre part of Mediterranean pre-history.³ There is some reason for believing that Neanderthal man lived in Malta in pleistocene times, when there still existed a land-bridge connecting north Africa with Sicily and the mainland of Europe. But the megalithic remains for which, thanks chiefly to the labours of Zammit, the island is now famous, belong to the neolithic period, long before which the land-bridge had been broken, and Malta, with the neighbouring islands, had taken its present shape. The most important of these remains are the large temples, especially those of Hal Tarxien, which were excavated between 1915 and 1919, and which give us a picture of neolithic civilization that is quite peculiar to Malta. By comparison the simple dolmens and menhirs are insignificant.

¹ Dial., 12, 7, 9, cf. *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, pp. 148, 162, 165.

² 5, 14, 2.

³ von Duhn, *Graberkunde*, I, pp. 90 ff., gives a summary account with bibliography. But see especially Zammit's book (p. 380 *infr.*), and also Mayr in Ebert, *Reallexikon*, 7, 1926, pp. 358 ff.

The typical structure of these temples consists of two elliptical walled areas with an apse at each end, set side by side, and con-

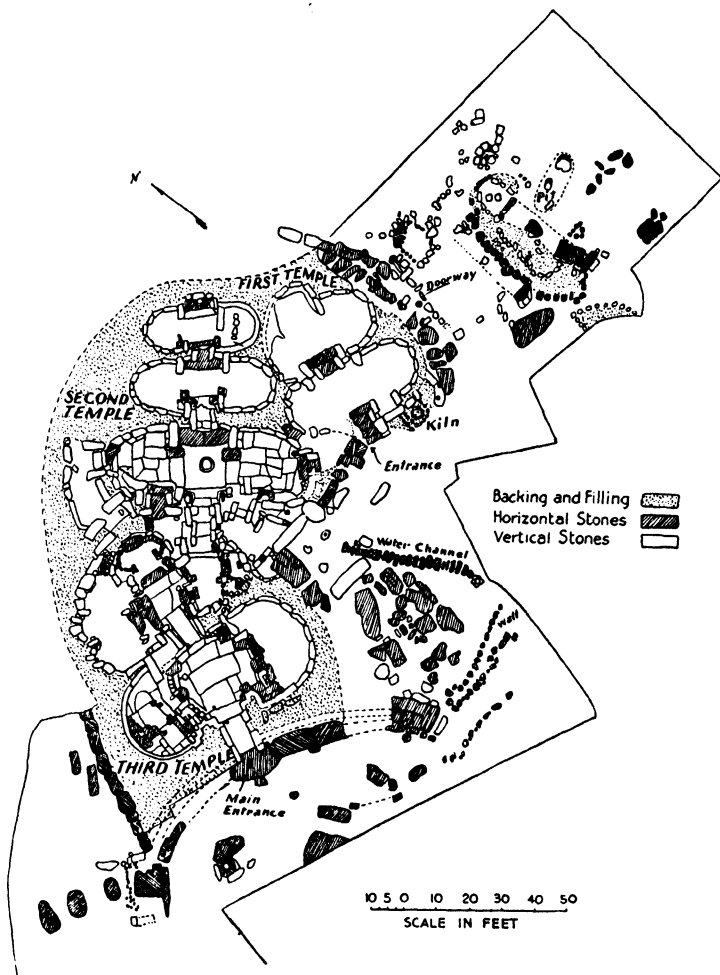


FIG. 146.—The Temples at Hal Tarxien (Malta).

nected by an intermediate entrance. The main entrance is in the centre of a forecourt enclosed in curved walls. Opposite the

entrance, in the far ellipse, is an apsidal niche, the long axes of the ellipses being parallel to one another and at right angles to the main axis of the whole structure. Large slabs of stone, set upright, were used in the building, with ashlar masonry surmounting them, and at least the apses were roofed by the gradually narrowing approach of successive courses. Decorated stone slabs, pierced by window-like openings, served as screens to shut off the apses. Stone pillars and tables, both free standing and also so constructed as to form side-niches are noteworthy, and there can be no doubt that these have to do with some form of pillar-worship. The niches at Hal Tarxien in some cases were filled with the bones of victims, sheep and oxen, and there is a frieze in relief, belonging to the middle of the three periods distinguished there, showing a sow and four animals variously interpreted as the moufflon or as bulls. Spiral decorations are found on one of the altar-stones from the front of a niche that contained, besides bones, pottery and flint implements. Remains of statues and steatopygous statuettes, clay figurines, and the extraordinary clay discoid figures from the second temple of Hal Tarxien, may be mentioned among the objects unearthed by Zammit.

Hal Safleni, not far away, is remarkable for the subterranean structure which, whatever its original purpose, had come to be used before the end of the neolithic period as a repository for human skeletons, thousands of which were found lying there in great disorder, and with them fragments of pottery and stone amulets in the shape of axe-heads. The hypogæum itself was entered from above by a megalithic structure only fragments of which survive. It consisted of a complicated arrangement of underground chambers—a circular one cut in the living rock in such a fashion as to reproduce the pattern of the megalithic structure above ground, including even the doorways, lintels, side-posts, and niches cut in relief, and beneath it other chambers, some of them mere pits, approached by a staircase. It has been conjectured that the rooms were intended for use in giving “fictitious oracular responses”.

That the neolithic population of Malta was long headed is certain; no doubt it belonged to the Mediterranean race. There is great variety in the pottery, some of which is finely

made. But both its internal history, and its external affiliations are still to be traced. There is pottery of a later date (bronze age) from the isolated *cremation* cemetery which was discovered by Zammit at Hal Tarxien.

It was formed in the narrow space between the second and third temples at some time after the sanctuaries had ceased to be used. The pottery shows patterns deeply incised before firing and then filled in with white. Except for objects found in association with these remains—copper chisels, daggers, and awls—there is no trace of metal in connexion



FIG. 147.—Pottery Jar from Hal Tarxien.

with the megalithic monuments of Malta. The Punic settlements¹ are all subsequent to the foundation of Carthage and the oldest objects found in them occur together with the so-called "proto-Carinthian" wares.

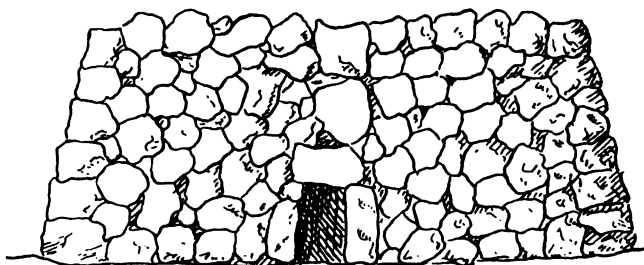


FIG. 148.—*Sese*, Pantelleria.

5. *Pantelleria*.—This small island, lying in the Mediterranean between western Sicily and the coast of Africa is remarkable for

¹ For the Punic inscriptions of Malta and Gozo see *C.I.S.* i, 122 ff.

the *sesi* as they are called—circular or elliptical tombs built of large blocks of stone in the shape of truncated cones (superficially rather like the *nuraghi* of Sardinia), with a low entrance leading to one or more inner chambers, and corbelled roofs, and also for the remains of a village of rectangular megalithic huts fortified by a semicircular wall on the land side. They are assigned to the end of the neolithic period. No metal objects are reported, and the pottery seems to have been imported since no clay is available on this volcanic island.

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CHAPTER XVII

RELIGION, LITERATURE, AND GOVERNMENT

I. RELIGION : INTRODUCTORY

THE several elements of population and the various quasi-national units which were merged in the Roman Italy of Augustus all contributed something to the medley of cult and ritual, of religious practices and beliefs, of superstitions and half-beliefs that Italy presents in the last century of the Republic, and which educated and thoughtful men had long ceased to take seriously. From the neolithic "Mediterranean" race, faint glimpses of whose religion we may catch in the little disturbed islands of Malta and Sardinia; from the invading northerners, whose language was Indo-European and whose religious beliefs contained much that they held in common with other early Indo-European speaking tribes; from the semi-Oriental Etruscans; from the Greeks in whose country the amalgam of Mediterranean and northern cults had produced a very different result from what occurred in Italy, where again the speculations of Greek philosophy added still another hue to the shifting kaleidoscope, from various Eastern lands whose cults—of Cybele, Mithras, Isis, Adonis, to mention no others—thinly or not at all disguised had been imported directly or indirectly; from the Kelts of Gallia Cisalpina and of Gaul proper; from Africa, Thrace, and Germany—the heterogeneous mass that appears as "Roman religion" at the beginning of the Empire, deriving something from all these sources, no longer served any genuine religious need, and despite the Augustan revival, and despite all that syncretism could do, contained within itself all the elements of its own disruption. Many attempts have been made to determine just what traces of Italic non-Roman religion

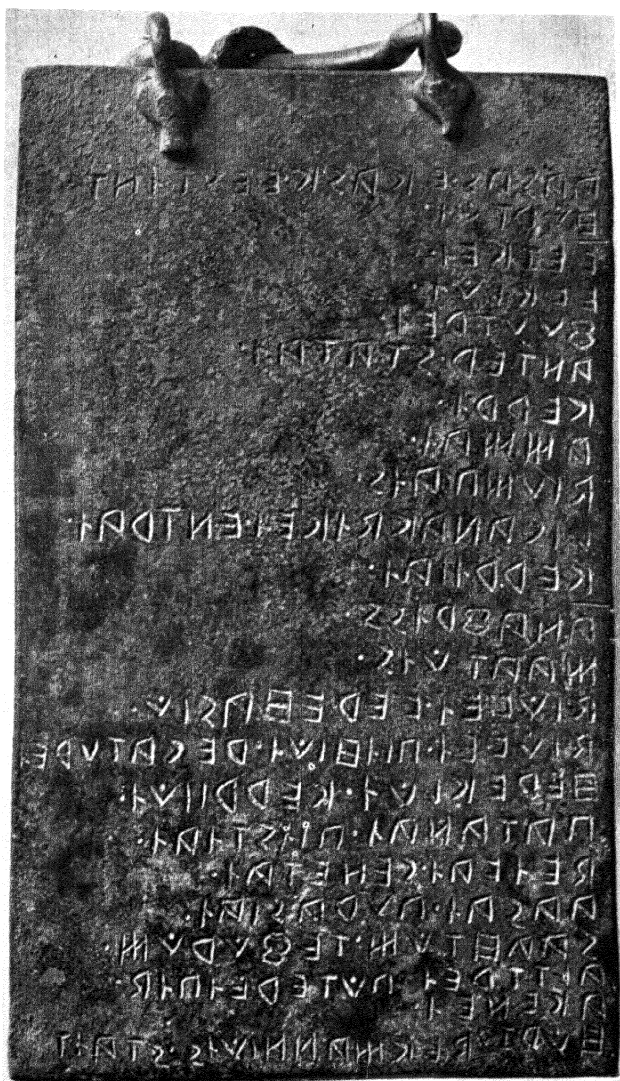
may be identified in the early religion of Rome. Such attempts are fore-doomed to failure—the necessary evidence to sustain a convincing conclusion is lacking. We must be content to relate what little has survived of pre-Roman, or rather of non-Roman, religion in ancient Italy outside of Rome itself. Here no doubt much has been lost to us through the working of the same process that disguised Greek gods, more or less successfully, as Roman in Rome; more than one native deity and cult has been swallowed up by assimilation with some Greek or Roman worship that seemed like enough to justify identification. Something has been said of native cults among the non-Italic peoples of Italy, strictly so defined, in previous chapters; here we shall be concerned only with the Italic-speaking tribes and the more interesting and important of their remains that tell us something of their religion.

2. THE ITALIC TRIBES

It is reasonable to assume that the Samnite or Sabellian tribes at large had many beliefs and practices in common, and that some at any rate they shared with the ancient Romans, whose racial inheritance was partly of the same stock. Though the dialect remains are not entirely free from Greek or Etruscan influence, the influence of Greek religion is manifestly less than on Roman religion at the date (from the fourth to the first centuries B.C.) to which most of our inscriptions belong. It is evident, moreover, that the elements which make up much of the early Roman religion, such as magic, taboo, animism, and the developments which proceeded from these, of local and functional spirits, with their accompaniment of worship in the shape of sacrifice, prayer, lustration, and vow, are characteristic of the Italic tribes as a whole. Finally there are indications that polytheism and anthropomorphism had arrived or were not far away, and perhaps even something like institutional religion and the state-cult in some of the more developed communities, while the Oscan-speaking people of Campania at least cannot have failed to be influenced strongly by the Greek cults practised around them.

There was a large element of what we must call religion in the apparently secular institution of the *ver sacrum*, which was common to the Sabellian tribes, and also in the primitive *ius*

PLATE XI



THE "TABULA AGNONENSIS"

gentium, as the Romans called it, which, together with the general procedure of the *fetiales*, they seem to have understood well enough in their intercourse with the Romans to suggest that they themselves shared both.

3. THE TABULA AGNONENSIS

But perhaps the most interesting piece of evidence that we have to illustrate the beliefs of the Samnite tribes is the engraved bronze tablet found at Capracotta (called the "Tabula Agnonensis," though it was not actually found at Agnone), now in the British Museum. It measures about 11 by 6½ inches, is engraved on both sides, and is furnished with a handsome handle and chain with which to hang it up, presumably in some shrine or temple. Its contents are simply an inventory of the statues and altars in a sacred grove or garden devoted to the cult of a large number of rural divinities, whose very names are full of interest, together with the prescription of a sacrifice either every second year or at each of two annual festivals—it is not quite clear which. The entire grove, it would appear, had been consecrated to a deity *Kerres*, and many of the subsidiary or associated deities, who with few exceptions have feminine cult-titles, have the derivative epithet *kerriiú-* meaning "genialis," that is pertaining to the powers of generation of plants, crops, trees, and animals as well as of man, rather than merely "cerealis" in the narrower Latin sense. Precisely when the festivals called the *fluusasiás* and *dekmaniiús* (both loc. pl.) fell we do not know; it has been conjectured¹ that they came about July and August respectively. Besides Jupiter, Ceres, Hercules, and Mercury (who is called *eukliú*, cf. South Italic *εὐκολος*, Gr. *εὐκλῆς*), the two last-named no doubt in their old capacity of agricultural deities, and besides the less definitely personified Panda and Flora, we have the more shadowy half-animistic functional spirits of *vezkeí*, *anterstataí*, and *ammaí*, these three perhaps maieutic and trophic in function, the *fuutrei kerriai* now interpreted as "filiae Cereali," and also, significantly enough in the plural, the *diumpais* ("nymphis,") *anafriús* ("imbribus,") and *maatúis* ("manibus," i.e. "to the kindly spirits" like the *Σεμναί* or *Εὐμενίδες*). The prescription

¹ *Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol.*, 42, 1931, pp. 175 ff.

concerning the sacrifice runs: *aasai purasiai saabtum tefurum . . . sakabiter* "in ara ignea crematio sancta . . . sanciatum".

4. OTHER OSCAN REMAINS: THE MINOR DIALECTS

At Calcatello, the ancient Bouianum Vetus, not far away from Capracotta, there are the remains of a temple which is supposed to have belonged to Apollo (or a native god identified with Apollo, one of the Greek gods earliest domesticated in Italy). In that temple the cult-statue did not stand at the back of the *cella*, which was the usual arrangement, but on the north wall. The object of this unusual position seems to have been to enable the worshipper to face the statue without turning his back on the east, since the temple itself stands on a hill, the Monte Caraceno, that slopes towards the east.

From Isernia, also in Samnium proper, comes a gold ring, dedicated *anagtiai diiviai* "Angitæ Diæ". The cult of this goddess, which also appears in Latin inscriptions designated in the generalizing plural (*Angitus*, and in a different but related form *ancitibus*),¹ was widely spread in the central highlands. Besides the Samnite record just mentioned we have traces of her worship, apparently as a goddess of healing and security, at Iguvium and among the Pæligni, the Vestini, the Marsi. The last-named revered her in a sacred grove near the south-west corner of Lake Fucinus (at the modern Luco or Lugo) and the Pæligni joined her cult with that of other gods (*aisis*) generally. It seems to have been a gentile cult to begin with, perhaps ultimately Etruscan. In some of the Pælignian texts² it is possible that *anaceta* is indeed still the gentile rather than the divine name, for the inscriptions themselves are from graves and can hardly have been dedications. But it is interesting to note that, in that case, the family claimed a special association with the deity Kerres and hence distinguish themselves by the epithet *cer(r)is*.

5. THE IOVILÆ

Less important are the Marsian *Epointa*, *Purcefrus*, *Fucinus*, and the Pælignian *Pelina*, all of them little more than names to

¹ C.I.L. 9, 3074 (Sulmo), 3515 (Furfo, in the territory of the Vestini).

² *Italic Dialects*, 206 ff.

us.¹ Of surpassing interest, however, in connexion with family-cults is the large group of *iovilæ*-inscriptions, chiefly from the site of the ancient Capua, with a few specimens from Cumæ. A typical text runs: *tr. virriiis kenssurineis ekas iuvilas tris ebpeilatasset, vesulliis fertalis staflatasset mi blūsii(eis) mi m. t. nessimas staiet vernis lūvkei*: "Trebii Verrii Censorini hæ iovilæ tres erectæ sunt; Vesulliis fertalibus statutæ sunt, prætura urbana Minii Blossii Minii filii. Proximæ stant a foribus in luco." The stone itself (*iovila*) regularly bears a heraldic emblem, presumably of the family who set it up to record (or to prescribe) an annual sacrifice to certain tutelar deities, or in honour of the ancestors of the family concerned, on a fixed date. There seems to be little doubt that the ceremony was of the nature of a fertility rite, intended to secure the preservation of the family (or families) making the sacrifice, and there is some reason for believing that a goddess analogous to the Roman Juno Lucina, as well as the associated male god "Iuppiter Flagius" who is expressly mentioned, was concerned intimately in the cult.²

6. HERCULES AND OTHER DEITIES

Still in Campania we have the long "Cippus Abellanus," an inscription recording the terms on which a temple of Hercules between Nola and Abella was used jointly by the people of these two towns. It is interesting chiefly because the people of Nola appointed a *medikei deketasiūi* (dat. sg.) to assist in the administration of the treaty. There is little doubt that the title of this official is somehow connected with the collection of titles, which we know from other sources to have been offered to the agricultural deity Hercules whose worship became popular very early in many parts of Italy.³

Apollo (especially at Cumæ), Hermes, Demeter, and Poseidon were other Greek deities of whom the adoption from the colonies of Magna Græcia was not long delayed, and for all of these, except Poseidon, there is evidence in the dialect-inscriptions to show that the cults had been accepted by the native population. At Pompeii and Herculaneum in particular we have inscriptions which vouch

¹ C.I.L. 9, 3906, 3658, 3656, 3847, 3887, 3314.

² *Class. Quart.*, 16, 1922, pp. 181 ff. ³ Cf. *Language*, 3, 1927, pp. 105 ff.

for the worship not only of Apollo and Hercules, but also of Flora (Oscan *Apellu, Herculos, Fluusa*) and of a goddess of love, just emerging into the anthropomorphic stage, called *herentas* (lit. "desire") who was identified with Venus and Aphrodite; the epithet *herukina* "Erycina" is joined to her name at Herculanum, whereas at Corfinium, among the Pæligni, she is called *hanustu*, usually but doubtfully translated as "honesta". In the same inscription from Corfinium, a lengthy epitaph carefully written, at least in alliterative lines, if not also in a rude saturnian rhythm, yet another divine name appears, *urania*, commonly interpreted as Venus, but quite possibly denoting either a Demeter-like or Juno-like goddess. The epitaph itself is that of a lady connected with two noble *gentes* who is described as "shepherdess of the sacred flock" (*pristafalacirix*) and "priestess of the gods of agriculture" (*cerfum sacaracirix semunu*), and as departing to the "realms of Persephone" (*praicime perseponas afded*). In the last phrase both Greek and Etruscan influences are manifest, while the contents of the inscription show that this priestess had been married. The epithet *fisica* of Venus at Pompeii (it goes with Mefitis at Grumentum) is possibly Oscan.¹

7. DEFIXIONES

Several leaden curses written in Oscan and addressed to chthonian deities have been preserved. On one of these we find the deity *kerres* once more, accompanied by a whole "legion" of spirits, and some punitive deities who are euphemistically described as the "best of maidens" (*ualaimas pukelum*). These, with *Kerres*, are implored to punish the victim of the curse by depriving him of all power to conduct any operation of life and by various kinds of torture; the object of the curse, of course, is to secure some concession, which, if made, will free the victim from the effects of the imprecation. Quite different, presumably, are the "children of Jove" (*puclois ioniois*) honoured by a Pælignian dedication from Sulmo. They remind us of the *futret kerriai*

¹ It appears to be a misunderstanding (brought about by confusion with Gr. *φουικη*) of a form **misica*, cf. Osc. *mezkef*, with which Conway (*Dial. Ital. Exempla Sel.*, p. 16) compared Latin *messica*. Compare the writings *fixit* (for *uxit*), *iudicafid* (*iudicavit*), *prafocato* (*-uocato*). Hence we should assume syncretism of Venus and a goddess of procreation (cf. the Roman Venus Genetrix).

rather at Agnone, or of the "first-born daughter of Jove" (*dionio fileai primocenia*)¹ at Praeneste.

8. SOME REMAINING CULTS

We must pass over with a mere mention the *dea Marica* of Minturnæ (identified by the ancients with Venus or Diana), the *Vesuna Erinia* of the Marsi (compare the Campanian *Vesullia*), who was worshipped simply as *Vesuna* by the Volscians, and as wife or daughter of "Pomonus" by the Umbrians. The Marsians joined her with an *Erinus* (or *Ero*) *pater*. Nothing definite is known of their functions, but the name *Vesuna* may perhaps be compared with that of the Latin *Vesta*; the *di nouensides* of the Marsi are, of course, no more peculiar to them than their *Valetudo*, *Victoria*, or *Minerva* to the Pæligni. But in an inscription of the Marrucini, associated with Jupiter we find a goddess called *regenai peai cerie ionia* (dat. sg. "Reginæ Pīæ Cereri Iouiæ") or simply *ionia*, and both of them, it would appear, were worshipped on the same day which was also the day for a festival at a mountain or hill (*ocris*) called *tarincris*, this epithet being still unexplained.

Vacuna seems to have been peculiarly Sabine, first as an agricultural deity and then as a goddess of war identified with *Victoria*, but *Feronia* the goddess of wild creatures was worshipped also by the Faliscans and eventually her cult spread to other parts of Italy, to the country of the Veneti, and even to Histria. In Volscian territory of more importance than *Mater Matuta*, or than *Numiternus*, or *Deluentinus*, known to us from Latin sources, is the god or goddess *Declunus* (or *Decluna*), whose temple is secured against the results of profanation by various rites, among them the notable provision that, in order to repair any injury, the use of iron is expressly allowed (*ferom pihom estu*), which proves that, in the ordinary course, its use in the temple precincts would be taboo.

The famous Iguvine Tables have been described and their contents summarized in a previous chapter. Here we need only add that they present many parallels to what we know of ancient Roman practice in the liturgy and organization of the sacred

¹ *Italic Dialects*, no. 281.

brotherhood (the *fratēer atueŕtur*), and above all in the solemn lustration of the people (*puplum aferum*) that recalls the Roman *ambarualia*.¹

9. THE BEGINNINGS OF LITERATURE

The art of writing, the second greatest invention of man, and at once the ally and the enemy of religion, came to Italy comparatively late. But writing, though a valuable aid, and as we now understand literature inseparable from it, is not an indispensable adjunct to composition. There have been many, and are still some, traditional orally transmitted literatures. Was there ever such in Italy? There is some reason for believing that even in pre-ethnic Indo-European times something in the nature of a poetic style was being evolved, traces of which survive most markedly in epic. Vergil's

"Erebumque chaosque | tergeminumque Hecaten" ²

is doubtless Homeric in inspiration, but it is also an arrangement of words that can be paralleled exactly in Sanskrit and Germanic as well as in Greek epic. There is an unmistakable rhythmic quality in the liturgy of the Atiedian brothers of Iguvium, not so much considered as whole, as in the composition and combination of phrases that again seem to have been inherited from the same sources as similar groupings of words that are found in other Indo-European languages,³ and if we possessed more complete remains of the Latin liturgies of the Salii and the Fratres Arvales, it is likely that the same qualities would be found there too. As it is, the "saturnian" rhythm, in which Andronicus wrote his translation of the *Odyssey* and Nævius his epic, the *Bellum Punicum*, and which is certainly a native Italic verse, even if the dialect inscription of Corfinium (p. 368 above) cannot be proved ⁴ to have

¹ I have collected elsewhere (*Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol.*, 42, 1931, pp. 157 ff.) the little that is known of the calendar in ancient Italy (other than Rome). It was, as might be expected, a countryman's calendar rather like, in some ways, that of which vestiges still survive even in England (see the *London Times*, August 23, 1933).

² *Æn.*, 4, 510-11.

³ Cf. Hirt, *Indogerm. Grammatik*, 1, 1927, p. 127.

⁴ For this and other dialect texts claimed to be rhythmical, cf. Buecheler, *Carm. Epigr.*, 17. But the reader may be warned that Buecheler scanned as saturnians (as well as translating) an Oscan inscription of Bouianum Vetus (*I.D.* 169) which he took to be complete but which Pauli subsequently showed to consist of mere fragmentary lines of writing broken on both left and right! See also Vetter, *Glotta*, 14, 1925, pp. 26 ff. (Faliscan saturnians).

been written in saturnians, has frequently been held to be ultimately of Indo-European derivation.

It will be clear already that the beginnings of literature in Italy are closely associated with religion. The Latin saturnian and the Umbrian liturgies, the epitaph of the priestess of Corfinium, the Etruscan "*liber lintheus*," the Fescennine verses originating at harvest and vintage festivals, and even still later when directed to averting the evil eye at weddings and triumphs, the impromptu drama connected with the worship of agricultural deities (the *satura* and perhaps also the Atellan plays, the latter of which suggest a native Oscan literature), no less than the dirges (*nenia*) and ballads that hint of ancestor worship, the charms and prayers quoted by Cato in the *de re rustica*, the songs sung at banquets of the gods, not to mention the large body of priestly literature (the *libri pontificum*, *fasti*, and *annales*)—all these, little as we know of them, at least speak definitely enough of the early consecration of the native literature, such as it was before it was touched by Hellenism, to religious rather than to secular ends. It is reasonable to suppose that some of these early compositions were never written down at all and that such of them as had become traditional, did so in virtue of oral transmission not only before but even after the art of writing had been acquired in Italy. And any elements that they may have contained of origins so remote that they could be called Indo-European must necessarily have long been so transmitted.

10. ITS FAILURE

But whatever possible capacity for the development of a literature the Italic-speaking peoples may have inherited from Indo-European sources, it is only too evident that they did little or nothing to increase or encourage it. Whether they would have done so had they never been exposed to the stimulus of Etruscan or Greek influence, or what the result might have been, it is idle to conjecture. What is certain is that either there never was anything that could be called a native Roman or Italic literature, if we use the term literature in any real sense, or else that nothing of it has survived.¹ It has been plausibly argued that

¹ A three-volume work on Latin literature before Greek influence by the Italian scholar Cocchia displays to the reader only a lack of all sense of proportion.

the mainspring of the Oscan *fabulæ Atellanæ* far from being originally Italic, was not even Greek, but rather Etruscan.¹ It is in fact chiefly among the Etruscans and among the tribes first brought in contact with the Greeks that we find the first traces of literature in Italy; and apart from the Etruscan, this literature seems to have been deeply indebted, like the literature of Rome, to the Greek.

II. A NATIVE DRAMA ?

We have, then, some indications of a rudimentary form of drama among the Etruscans, but hardly enough evidence to show how far it was independent in origin and inspiration. Livy² records that in 364 B.C. Etruscan performers (we can hardly say actors) were introduced into Rome to dance to flute music, though regular dramatic representations were not initiated there until much later. But it has long been known that the word *persona* "mask" is a regular Latin formation from an Etruscan form *persu*, and we have the testimony of the ancients that *histrio* "actor" is also Etruscan. The word for stage, *scena* is, to be sure, Greek, but if, as is probable, it was Etruscans who were responsible for the mispronunciation of the Greek word (σκήνη), at Rome, that fact is significant.³ The very name of the *uersus Fescennini* connects them with the south Etruscan town *Fescennia* just as the *fabulæ Atellanæ* are connected with *Atella*, the form by which Romans (and Etruscans) called the town which its natives knew as **Adella* or *Aderla*. Finally, we have the testimony of Varro⁴ that tragedies were written in the Etruscan language, or after the Etruscan manner ("tragoedias tuscas scripsit"), by a certain Volnius (of Etruscan parentage to judge by his name). The identity and the "floruit" of this Volnius are totally unknown, however, and his tragedies may have been merely a literary exercise rather than spontaneous dramatic compositions.

But if the Oscans really owed anything in their Atellan pieces to the Etruscans, they had adopted and adapted the form so completely that to the ancients it passed as thoroughly Oscan and Italic. As is well known, these rude sketches exhibited

¹ Cocchia, *Glotta*, 2, 1910, pp. 269 f.

² 7, 2; cf. Fest., p. 418 (*Gloss. Lat.*, 4, 1930).

³ See Schulze, *Kubns Zeitschrift*, 51, 1923, p. 242.

⁴ *L.L.* 5, 55.

repeatedly the same stock characters, typical of a country town, the names of many of which have been preserved, for example *Maccus*, *Dossennus*, *Bucco*, *Pappus*, in which it is possible to see (especially in *Dossennus*) the characteristic Oscan gemination of consonants. It is by no means unlikely that both the burlesque or farce, the *φλύαξ* or *ἱλαροτραγωδία*, representations of scenes from which are common on Tarentine and other Apulian vases,¹ and which became popular in southern Italy, and perhaps also Sicilian comedy, though both of these must have exercised their own influence upon any literary talent which the native peoples of south Italy and Sicily could muster, in turn had borrowed something from them. The *φλύαξ* at any rate seems to have had its roots in the soil, even though it only obtained literary form under the stimulus of Greek genius, and it seems to have had a strong local colour, so far as we may judge from the surviving fragments. At least one writer in the style was Italian by birth, Blæsus of Capræ—the name is Italic, especially common in Campania, and perhaps also Messapic—and in his *μοκκῶνσις* (read *μακκῶνσις*?) there is perhaps a hint of the stock Atellan character *Maccus*.² One of his pieces bears the title *Saturnus*; they may all have been of the type commonly called “*Satura Menippeæ*,” and it is agreed by competent critics, beginning with Quintilian, that the genre *satura* was wholly and peculiarly Italic. It is tempting, therefore, to connect *satura*, the etymology of which has long been disputed, with the south Italic local name *Saturium*.³ A large number of words from Sicel, from the southern Italic dialects, and from Messapic in the shape of glosses in ancient writers,⁴ are known from precisely this source, the Sicilian and south Italian comedy, and if so many elements in the vocabulary were borrowed from the native dialects in compositions intended for a mixed audience of colonial Greeks and Hellenized natives, it is highly probable that much more was borrowed with it. Of especial interest is Deecke’s observation, made many years ago, that a Messapian of Ceglie is described on his tombstone as having

¹ See, for example, *Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol.*, 39, 1928, pp. 1 ff.

² But compare *μακκοῦν* (Aristoph.), derived from *Μακκῶ* according to Suidas. Hence both the *μακκοῦν* of Aristophanes and the *μακκῶνσις* of Blæsus may be South Italic (rather than Campanian), or Sicilian.

³ *Italic Dialects*, p. 32.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1, pp. 45 ff., *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, pp. 428, 471 ff.

been an actor in mimes,¹ while the Messapic borrowing *κομάκτωρ*² apparently an Italic compound, unknown in Latin and perhaps produced by a popular association with Greek *κωμικός* (the Italic *ō* and the Greek *ω* are alike open in quality, compare the use of *ω* to transcribe the Oscan *ū*, that is *ǔ*, in Oscan inscriptions written in the Tarentine-Ionic alphabet), would seem to imply that that profession was frequently filled by native-born performers. No doubt there was a current of influence set in the reverse direction, as witness the Plautine *dierectus*,³ and perhaps *miser* (p. 364 above), imprecations being especially prone to borrowing and corruption.

It has been held⁴ that the Latin form of one of the great characters of epic, *Ulysses*, proves that the name, and presumably the story, came to Rome through southern Italy, and it may be recalled that only a fraction of the total number of writers of Latin literature were Roman or Latin born, very many of them coming, down to Augustan times, from the Italian country towns, beginning with Andronicus, Nævius, and Ennius, and ending with Horace, Vergil, and Livy. Finally, if the epithet (of the Venetic *Re · i · tia* or of Louzera) *musicata · i ·*⁵ implies, as is likely enough, that the goddess was, hardly a patroness of literature or the arts, but rather "docta" in the sense that she was interested, like the Roman Carmentis and Camenæ, in spells and charms, if only as protecting spirits of women in childbirth, it would follow that the Veneti, like the Italic tribes, had composers of *carmina*, and the *carmen*, rhythmical formulæ used in prayers and oaths, as well as in prophecies and incantations, half-magic and half-religion, but with the germ of literary form in its rhythm and its characteristically Italic fondness for alliteration, was purely native in Italy. Very different, in the long run, was the Keltic *uates*,⁶ the divinely inspired poet, from the barely literate composers of

¹ *Prae-Italic Dialects*, II, p. 307, no. 406 (*platoras mimeteos*), with the Glossary (vol. III, p. 31), s.v. *mimeteos*. (I am interested to observe that Altheim has made much the same use of these materials in his *Rom. Religions-geschichte* and *Epochen der rom. Geschichte*—September, 1935.)

² *Ibid.*, II, p. 429.

³ A "bastard issue of *διαπρήγνυμι*" (Nettleship), see Sonnenschein's note on Plautus, *Rud.*, 1170.

⁴ Cf. *Prae-Italic Dialects*, II, p. 562.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, p. 162. The inscription (no. 163) is on a situla; compare, then, the *urna* of Venus, described as *litterata* in Plautus, *Rud.*, 478.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, p. 201.

carmina; yet, long before the "Keltic movement" in Latin literature that culminated in Vergil and Livy, the function of the *uates* had been identified with that of the soothsayer.

12. LAW AND GOVERNMENT

The *tabula Bantina* (from Bantia on the borders of Lucania and Apulia) is the only considerable document that we possess to tell us anything of municipal administration prior to the Roman conquest and it is not altogether free from Roman or Latin influences. Our knowledge, indeed, of law and government, and the economic and other conditions among the early non-Latin tribes, is very scanty. Latin influence is manifest in some, though not all, of the titles of officials (as in Oscan *aidul*, *keenxsur*, as contrasted with the true Oscan form *keenxsstur*, and perhaps in Oscan *kvaistsstur*, Umbrian *kvestur*), and also in the borrowed Oscan legal term *urust* (3 sg. fut. pf.) which preserves an old technical meaning ("plead, argue") of the Latin *orare*. Not only Latin legal phraseology, but also the Roman procedure with regard to *intercessio*, the judiciary function of the assembly as a court of appeal, taking the census, rights and penalties in cases of forcible seizure, and the *cursus honorum*, are to be cited in illustration and explanation of the provisions that were exacted at Bantia in the last quarter of the second century B.C. Naturally there are certain differences. Thus the order of holding magistracies was quæstor, prætor, censor at Bantia; part of the penalty for non-appearance at the census without good cause was, it seems, not death or slavery as in Roman law, but public scourging; and there was a longer interval allowed between the last hearing of any suit involving the penalty of death or a fine and the convocation of the comitia for its decision. What emerges very clearly from the provisions in force at Bantia at the date of this inscription (between 133 and 118 B.C.), and doubtless for a long period before that date, is that the constitution in effect was entirely democratic, including even officials corresponding to the Roman "tribuni plebis".¹ And though there is some evidence to show that several of the peoples of ancient Italy and Sicily, for example the

¹ But there is no probability in Mommsen's view that the *Tabula Bantina* contains an Oscan version of a *foedus* between Rome and Bantia, the object of which was to embody the Gracchan legislation.

Sicels and Messapians, if not the Lucanians, as well as the Romans and the Etruscans, had in early times lived under monarchies, as it is reasonable to suppose they all had done, they had passed from monarchy, and through any intermediate stages, to some form of democracy even before the Romanization began. In view of what we know of the course of events in Rome it is unnecessary to assume that Greek influence was the motivating force behind the adoption of a democratic constitution in the Italic townships, though it would be equally erroneous to suppose that such a form of government, as and when it obtained in the Greek cities of Magna Græcia, was devoid of influence on their Italic neighbours. Many of the details, however, of the democratic organization of the Italic communities, so far as we know them, have no parallel in Greek cities, and whatever stimulus the Greek model may have furnished, it is evident that the Italic tribes worked out their own destiny, in matters of government, practically unaided.

Not only at Tusculum but also at three Volscian towns, Arpinum, Fundi, and Formiæ (and subsequently at the Latin colony of Ariminum), there was a panel of three *adiles*, who evidently were the chief magistrates in each of those places. Even though the title is pure Latin, and indeed the sources of our information also, this triple magistracy is so unusual that we must suppose it to have existed independently at least at Tusculum, and no doubt also at the Volscian towns (where the title must have been borrowed after the Romanization), though it does not follow, as has been argued, that it was a widespread Italic institution. The fact that this curious designation, meaning originally "temple-wardens," was applied to the chief magistrates, deriving their authority from the "senatus populusque Tusculanus" and entrusted with the control of the "pecunia publica,"¹ is explained on the supposition that the officials in charge of the great temple of Castor and Pollux at Tusculum originally had had considerable political powers also, and when they were divested of these, the old title was transferred to the new magistrates who succeeded to that more important part of their functions. In some other Latin communities (Aricia, Lanuvium, and Nomentum) the title of the chief magistrate was

¹ See Rosenberg, *Staat der alten Italiæ*, p. 8, for the epigraphic evidence.

dictator, at yet others (Præneste and Lauretes Launates) we find *prætores* in control, as also in the Latin league itself during its last revolt against Rome.

The Oscan office of *meddix tuticus* is recorded in some thirty dialect inscriptions from Campania (with which we may count for this purpose the Mamertines at Messina), Samnium, Apulia (Bantia), the country of the Pæligni, and of the Volsci. This wide distribution of the title of the chief magistrate among the dialect-speaking tribes leaves us in no doubt that it was an old Italic office. Its original meaning corresponds closely to that of the Latin *iudex*, and it is reasonable to suppose that the *meddix* joined judicial with his administrative capacity; *tuticus* (in Oscan it is *meddix tūtīks*) is merely "publicus, civilis" (from *touta* "civitas"). There is not only the *meddix* (and *kvaistur*) of the cities to be considered, but also of Oscan confederations, while the *ædiles* were probably always urban. The office of *meddix* was probably elective, like that of the quattuorvirate (we have a few late Oscan election-placards from Pompeii, evidently addressed to Oscan-speaking voters, even after 90 B.C., and similar to the well-known Latin *programmata* relating to the same office, in which *IIII ner* is the title corresponding to the Latin *IIII vir*), but we have no means of knowing how broad the electorate was; nor is it certain that the office of *meddix tuticus*, which seems to have been held for a year, corresponded to that of a *dictator*, as a recent theory maintains.¹ We have also to distinguish between those inscriptions which name a single *meddix* (or *meddix tuticus*) and those (from Messina, Nola, Corfinium, and Velitræ) which name two *meddices* as colleagues, like the Roman consuls, and here it is natural to think of a duovirate that was perhaps not native at all but due to Roman influence. The qualifying adjectives by which they are described, *aticus* at Corfinium, and *degetasius* at Nola (nom. pl. in both), have been the subject of much dispute; the former perhaps means "foremost, chief," and the latter

¹ Since Rosenberg's monograph, there has been a large number of discussions, especially within the last few years, of the office and function of *meddix*; see, among others, F. Leifer, *Studien zum antiken Amterwesen*, in *Klio*, Beiheft 23, 1931; S. Weinstock, *Klio*, 24, 1931, pp. 235 ff. (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, s.v.); Žmigryder-Konopka, Zđ., *de medicibus campanis*, in *Acta secundi Congressus phil.-class. Slav.* (Prace Druhého Sjezdu Klasických Filologů Slovanských v Praze, 1931 (Prague, 11, 1931), pp. 310 ff.)

(which at Nola also appears in the singular *deketasis*, *degetasis*, of a single *meddīs*), if it does not refer to the disposal of tithes paid at the temple of Hercules,¹ may imply an organization of the people into *decuriæ* (whether originally a military organization² or not), and the official residence of the meddix of Pompeii was accordingly called *dekekiarim*.

Latin inscriptions from Sabine territory (Trebula Mutuesca, Nursia, and Amiternum) speak of *octouiri*, and there are traces of a panel of the same number in other parts of central Italy. We are not in a position to say, however, how far the institution was peculiarly Sabine, nor do we know when it was first instituted. It is hardly "manifestly aboriginal" (deutlich autochthon), as Rosenberg would have it. On the other hand, the cognomen *Nero* (cognate with Greek ἀ-νῆρ) seems to have started its career as a Sabine,³ or at least an Oscan and Umbrian official title. We have already observed the late Oscan IIII *ner*. (an abbreviated form for "quattuorvir" or "quattuorviri") at Pompeii; and the same office, if a plausible conjectural restoration of a broken place in the Tabula Bantina is correct, was in force at Bantia. Again at Capua a certain Minius Cæsilius is described by the term *ner*, evidently used as a title of rank, if not as an official title; and one of the victims named in a curse found at Cumæ has the same rank (*niir*). But among the Umbrians we have the *nerf* (acc. pl.), usually translated "principes or optimates" included in the general prayers for the well-being of Iguvium and its people. Of their precise standing, whether elective or hereditary, and whether they were not rather a social or military aristocracy (or an aristocracy of birth) than administrative officials, there is unfortunately no evidence to enable us to say. The same title, however, may occur (*anires*) in one of our Sicel inscriptions.⁴ For, oddly enough the *maro*, the chief magistrate of the Umbrians (his office was called *maronatus*) at Fulginia and Assisi, also recurs in Sicel as *maru*.⁵ It is perhaps worth noting further that the

¹ *aragetud multasiked* in no way hinders that view, for the *multa* is sacred (as at Iguvium and elsewhere) even earlier than it is secular, and was originally a payment in kind like the tithe itself. See p. 385, n. 3 above.

² The *estuns*-inscriptions of Pompeii (no doubt military notices) belong to the time of the Social War and throw no light on this problem.

³ For the Sabine word see *Italic Dialects*, I, p. 356; II, p. 632 (s.v. *maro*).

⁴ *Præ-Italic Dialects*, II, no. 577.

⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 578, *Italic Dialects*, nos. 354, 355.

father of one of the two *marones* mentioned in the inscription of Assisi bears the title *ner* practically as a prænomen (*Nero* or *Nerius*?), and that one of the two officials who are described as holding the office of *obtur* in the same document is called *ner* in the same way. In a Latin inscription of Assisi¹ six *marones* are named, two of whom have the prænomen *Ner.* (abbreviated), and two pairs of whom were members of identical *gentes*. As for the title *obtur* or *ubtur* (Latin *auctor*), it further denotes an officer of the Atiedian brothers, whose office apparently was of a limited tenure—probably for one year—and hence eponymous. Finally, there is the *kevestur* (Latin *quæstor*), also an official of the brotherhood; these last two, however, are obviously not public magistracies, but rather sacerdotal, like that of the *magister* of the Arval brothers at Rome.

The Umbrian title *maro* was borrowed by the Etruscans² and appears as *marunux*, though that title, when it denoted the federal *marunux* is translated into Latin (at Cære) as “*ædilis Etruriæ*”. There was, however, a *marunux* in each city also, subordinate to a single chief magistrate called *zilaχ* (“dictator,”) while the corresponding federal officer, at the head of the league of twelve cities, was known as *zilaθ* (“prætor Etruriæ,”) with the federal *marunux* second in command. The *zilaθ* was attended by twelve lictors, and there were two other offices below that of *zilaχ*—namely, *marnu* and *purθne*, the latter perhaps corresponding to the *quæstor* at Rome. The whole constitution survived for religious purposes long after it had lost all political significance, but it is likely enough that the conservatism of religious usage had preserved some of the old features—particularly annual tenure and an established order of precedence. Elective annual tenure of magistrates apparently had succeeded the monarchy in most of the Etruscan towns by the fifth century B.C., and there is clearly a certain analogy between the Etruscan and other Italic constitutions, both in their history and in the details of their organization. It should not be pressed too far, however; for there is also a very striking difference in the complete absence of any collegiality. Nevertheless, we can see that the government and organization

¹ C.I.L. II, 5390.

² Not from the Etruscans; for *-r-* in *maro* represents an older *-s-*, *mas-* “male, masculine”.

of nearly all the tribes of ancient Italy were already evolving along much the same lines ; not only have they replaced kings by annually elected magistrates, they are also ready, in crises, to take the first step towards national unity, the confederation of independent cities.

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

I. THE DIVERSITY OF PEOPLES AND CULTURES

HITHERTO we have been occupied with the prehistory of the several fractions of a land that was and is a geographical unity. It remains to enquire how they came to be united politically also, so that when a united Italy had been set up on those ancient foundations it might become in its turn one of the most important foundation-stones of western civilization. The disunion of pre-Roman Italy, except in the geographical sense, is too obvious to need emphasis. For though the land itself makes an entity, and a self-contained entity at that, it was occupied by the representatives of more than one primitive society,¹ each of which had its own type of civilization, and each of which (with a single exception) had, once it was established in Italy, lost touch with other branches of the same society without establishing, except after a delay of several centuries, effective contact with the other societies that were its neighbours within the peninsula. The one exception is the Hellenic society, which in ancient Italy never really lost touch with its own centre, with the source from which it had sprung. The extremely ancient neolithic civilization (we can hardly speak of it as a society) belonged to a very sparse and scattered population in Italy, the elements of which can have had no sort of unity either within themselves or with other neolithic peoples. The later bronze age and early iron age peoples likewise not only were detached almost as completely from their central European and Danubian homelands

¹ "The 'intelligible fields of historical study' . . . are societies which have a greater extension, in both space and time, than national states . . . or any other political communities," Toynbee, *A Study of History*, i, 1934, pp. 44 f.

as if the ocean flowed between, but also formed in their new home quasi-national groups that were divorced from one another in everything except trading relations that were always liable to interruption, were always conducted on a small scale, judged by the international trade even of Roman times, and in no case tended to produce a union of two or more groups. The gulf that separated the Etruscans of Italy from their native land was so wide and so deep that the very locality of their original home had become a subject of debate even in ancient times and has remained so ever since; and though they extended their power widely in the land of their adoption they showed little or no inclination to unite themselves with its other inhabitants, or those inhabitants with one another, except by a policy of conquest that the event proved unsuccessful. The La Tène culture of Italy was never more than an overflow from the regions north of the Alps, and the Kelts never thought either to unify the land over which they roamed or to unite it (or any part of it) to a larger Keltic domain. And no recognizable trace remained of any linguistic or other unity which may have joined the ancestors of the Keltic and Italic tribes of Europe to one another or to other Indo-European speaking peoples. But the representatives of the Hellenic society in Italy, though they joined hands only temporarily at moments of special emergency, were able to remain true to a cultural allegiance, if not a political subservience, to their homeland and mother-cities. This, as will appear in the sequel, is a fact of great significance.

2. NO "HISTORY" OF ANCIENT ITALY

Although, therefore, pre-historic Italy was a geographical unit, the diversity of "societies" represented there made any other kind of unity impossible for many centuries; for this reason alone, quite apart from the lack of early written records, and quite apart from the fact that the people who finally united Italy wrote history solely from their own point of view, we can have no "History of Italy" in ancient times in the sense in which we have a history of Greece, but only a history of Rome. It is all but meaningless to ask the question whether ancient Italy was a unity *racially*. Not only were several distinct "types," especially the "Mediterranean" and the northern or "Nordic" white

types, combined in the make-up of the population in the last millennium B.C. ; from a scientific point of view, a race is not a permanent entity. Moreover, the consideration of races, apart from the contributions which they make to a particular civilization, is not helpful ; nearly every one of the great civilizations, past or present, and certainly the Hellenic civilization which finally became more important than any of the others in ancient Italy, has received contributions from more than one race. *Culturally* it is not so easy to assert off-hand that Italy was without a vestige of unity. We have already observed that the Greek cities of the south had what was fundamentally a common background. And one great archæological authority, thinking of the southern trend of the Villanovans and apparently convinced that they or their culture penetrated effectively much further south than we should be willing to admit, has compared the several early iron age groups to the various dialects of a common tongue. The comparison is not at all apt ; Italy in the early iron age culturally much more resembles a section from a patch-work quilt, with perhaps an unbalanced preponderance of Villanovan colour north of the Tiber. So much then of cultural unity, Villanovan in the north, Hellenic in the south, may be admitted, but no more. *Linguistically* we have exactly the same sort of diverse pattern. There is a certain rough and ready correspondence of the linguistic and the cultural patches (as for example the Venetic dialect with the Atestine group) but hardly ever can the two be superimposed and the boundaries found to coincide. In pre-Roman Italy *political* unity was virtually non-existent ; it was limited in extent and highly unstable. There was, again, no more *a common religious allegiance* than a political. Lastly, despite the relation which we have observed between the Italic and the Sicel systems of weights and measures, especially the monetary system, no one would suppose that there had been *an ancient economic unity* in ancient Italy.

3. FIRST ATTEMPTS AT UNION

But the reader who has studied the subject carefully cannot have failed to observe that opportunity for union did present itself, when it would seem that with little effort a united Italy might have been achieved, more than once between the beginning of the early iron age and last century of the Republic, when

at last Rome brought herself somewhat reluctantly to the task. Immediately before the new and detached elements introduced in the bronze and early iron ages entered upon the scene, Italy was in a sense homogeneous and stable in culture, and we may, if we wish, fancy it as a unit, though it will be as an indistinct, barely perceived unit. But once the great stream of migration from the north had set in, continuing through the bronze age into the beginnings of the early iron age, what was there to hinder the development of an Italy that should be "Villanovan" from end to end, which a political or military genius might have welded into a single kingdom comparable to the great powers of the east? By the tenth century B.C. the actual migrations—of the southern Villanovans of Latium and Etruria, the northern Villanovans around Bologna, the Atestines, and the Comacines, arriving perhaps in that order, so that the first to enter Italy are on the furthest periphery from the Transalpine homeland—were completed and the invaders firmly established in their new homes; and observing this southward spread of kindred stocks, a conquering march over more than half the peninsula, which was occupied only by a meagre population with the loosest possible organization, we cannot but ask why the first opportunity for a united Italy did not occur at this time. These early iron age peoples, by their skill in metallurgy and agriculture, must have had a profound effect on the material status of the country, and at the same time have possessed a greatly enhanced potential superiority. New and better weapons made conquest of the entire land a reasonable venture, and agriculture was leading to a more settled form of life by anchoring man to the ground and so to new forms of property.

It is said, no doubt rightly, that the warlike Picenes on the Adriatic coast turned the Villanovans from advancing further south in that direction. But on the hypothesis of the neolithic origins of the Picenes it is difficult to see how they came to be warlike and so amply furnished with arms unless we accept outright at the same time the theory of trans-Adriatic connexions which implies something like an Illyrian invasion. On the other hypothesis (see p. 244 above), which speaks of the Picenes as "Italic," despite the difference in burial rite, we should rather admit that the greater part of Italy did in fact, as far south as

Samnium, become the possession of a group of "Italic" peoples who had much in common and in the long run, as events proved, the capacity for union, long delayed as that union was. But the Villanovan expansion came just too late. Headed off by the Picenes, it was also checked by the arrival of new invaders in the west, the Etruscans, who established themselves as aristocratic overlords and proceeded to build up an Italian empire of their own. Considered solely as a civilization, the Villanovan was no match for the semi-oriental Etruscan culture and it paled even more at the dawn of Hellenism in the south. Splendid as these northerners were in their way, they were still "barbarians" and their civilization ended abortively.

Even if there had previously been small unified states within the borders of Italy, Venetic and Picene, it was nevertheless under the Etruscans that the prospects of a unification of Italy first grew bright. The astonishing feature of the Etruscan colonization of Italy is the contrast that it affords with the Etruscans in their own homeland, where they appear to have been a mere remnant of an already failing Asiatic society in which it is difficult if not impossible to trace any records of them that would lead us to forecast their future greatness overseas. It has been argued that it was the stimulus which processes of migration to and colonization in a new land produced that wrought a great, but not lasting, outburst of activity. We must remember, too, that like the Villanovans the Etruscans also lost touch with their original home. The historical events that marked the doom of a possible Etruscan dominion over Italy from the Po valley to the very south, are too well known to need repetition here. Their power had reached its height about 500 B.C.; their defeat by the Greeks at Cumæ in 474 B.C., only six years after the victory of the Greeks at Himera over their other foes, the Carthaginians, the natural allies of the Etruscans at this time, and again their defeat by the Samnites at Capua in 435 B.C., together with the attacks of the Gauls in the north, are the more obvious external occasions of their decline. But they were also sapped by internal decadence and by the suicidal dissension that weakened their loose confederacy. That confederacy itself seems always to have been as much religious as political in character, and its political force rapidly faded. Their contact with their Greek rivals had

already exposed them to Hellenic civilization and eventually, like Rome itself, they were absorbed into it. Although they had largely abandoned the institution of monarchy by the fifth century B.C., they retained a narrow oligarchy which developed into a crippling caste-system; this perhaps, as much as anything, led to the causes of their downfall, and it remained for the Romans finally to break it down.

4. HELLENIC CIVILIZATION

The robber-bands of Gauls, even though they ranged over the length and breadth of the peninsula, were utterly unable to take any step themselves, had not even the will to do so, towards making the land they had pillaged a united whole. We come next, therefore, to the Greeks, who, as we have seen, began their colonization of Magna Græcia in the eighth century in Campania at sites like that of Cumæ. But it is notorious that the Greeks, whether in Greece proper or in their colonial settlements, had hardly any more will than the Gauls towards union with one another, still less with the other peoples without the pale whom they reckoned collectively as "barbarians". Even such grandiose schemes as those of Dionysius I of Syracuse in the first half of the fourth century, with his dreams of supremacy not only in Sicily but also in southern Italy and on the coast of the Adriatic, were foredoomed to failure. Yet though Hellenism failed politically, culturally it succeeded. We have seen, in the preceding chapter, that in literature, and the same is true of the arts generally, any native springs there may have been were diverted into the great well of Greek inspiration, where they were completely lost. There is virtually no survival of a native Italic or Latin literature—it was abruptly cut short and then entirely swept away by the Greek. There is not only the failure of the native literature. Greek literature was backed up by Greek art, philosophy, and science. Pythagoreanism was widely cultivated in southern Italy, especially by the Lucanians and Messapians. In religion there is a merging of Greek and Italic cults and beliefs that sometimes leaves us almost unable to distinguish, or able to distinguish only doubtfully and with difficulty, between what was Italic and what was not; and though there remains a substantial foundation of

Italic religion, it is overlaid everywhere with a superstructure of Greek or Oriental origin. The great line of cleavage is revealed, however, when we come to consider government, and especially the rise of confederacies and the growth of the national idea. How different are the Italic confederations from the inconclusive Greek leagues, and the ultimate centralization of Italy under Augustus from that of Greece by the Macedonian kings! Confederation in Greece was as abortive as native civilizations were in Italy. Mommsen was right when he wrote that "if . . . Hellas is the prototype of purely human, Latium is not less for all time the prototype of national development," but he might have gone further and substituted Italy, or at least the Italic stock, for Latium. And Toynbee seems to be as much in the wrong when he writes (of modern conditions it is true, but still in general terms) that "the spirit of nationality is a sour ferment of the new wine of democracy in the old bottles of tribalism". The net result, however, is that Hellenism, whether through the medium of Roman civilization—

"Græcia capta ferum uictorem cepit et artis
intulit agresti Latio" ¹

or directly, was diffused all over Italy among peoples of differing dialects and cultures, who had begun to emerge as strong and youthful nations by the fourth century B.C. The sequel was and still is of first importance in the course of all subsequent western civilization.

The diffusion of Hellenism flowed in several currents. It came directly to Rome and thence indirectly to Italy at large; but it had also previously reached many parts of Italy directly from Magna Græcia, and thence indirectly passed to Rome. In the process there was an adaptation to Italic needs of what it had to give.

5. ITALIC NATIONALISM

There is a substantial truth in Randall-MacIver's summary: "building on a continuous foundation of inherited knowledge and experience, the Italians of the iron age acquired ever fresh vigour and independence. Villanovans, Atestines, Picenes, and

¹ Hor., *Epist.*, 2, 1, 156 f.

others, even before the coming of Etruscans and Greeks, had built up the greatness of provincial Italy. By the fourth century it was a country civilized from end to end, and ready for its political unification under the Romans. The independent vigour and energy of its several peoples and provinces made the ultimate strength and coherence of the Roman state.”¹ But this statement overlooks the prime factors of Hellenic civilization and Italic nationalism in the final result that issued from the mingling of the native peoples. The Villanovan civilization, as we have seen, was semi-barbaric compared with either the Etruscan or the Greek, and it gradually faded before the shock of these in much the same way as the native civilizations of North America and Australia have faded before Western European civilization, and that despite the emergence of a national consciousness among Italic peoples which the Greek communities lacked. It is to the eternal credit of the Italic tribes that faced with a choice between half-Oriental Etruscan materialism and Greek idealism they chose the latter. The triumph of Hellenism is due not only to its inherent greatness; we have already seen that the Hellenic society in Italy was the only one there which had remained in contact with its own sources, so that it was constantly sustained and refreshed.

The very word *nation* we owe to Italy. The word itself is characteristically Italic in formation (with its *ōn*-extension of the *ti*-formant) and is Umbrian (perhaps in the sense of *gens*) and Prænestine as well as pure Latin. But the development of meaning which it underwent in Italy is paralleled nowhere else—contrast the Greek *γένεσις* “origin” or the Sanskrit *jñātī-h* “kinsman,” not to mention English *kind* (that is “sort”) all of which go back to the same Indo-European **ǵen(a)tī-* that we have in Latin *nati-o*; the Gothic *kindins* “ruler, governor” perhaps comes nearest to showing something like a similar shift of meaning, but it is by no means identical, and, moreover, it is exceptional among the Germanic congeners of *natio*. Nor is there any Greek word that has the same content of meaning as the Latin *natio*—not *ἔθνος*, or *γένος*, or *φῶλον*, or *δῆμος*, or *πόλις*, words that we should be likely to think of as translations, but which really correspond only in part. There is almost as

¹ *Italy before the Romans*, p. 157.

wide a contrast between *socii*, or even the implication of the phrase *nomen Latinum*,¹ and the Greek *συμμαχία* or *συνωμοσία*, and again between *foedus* and *σπονδαί* or *ὁμολογία*. By the time of Cicero the word *natio* is used almost, if not quite, in the significance of English "nation" (rather than "tribe")—not a race; not always, if generally, a language; not generally now, if in former times, a religion; but always a territory and frequently a state. Now it is true that united Augustan Italy was not a nation in this sense; it was a territory, or rather a union of territories, but not a state, there was no Italian government, and there was no infringement of the rights of the political communities in managing their own affairs until much later. But the idea was there,² and Augustan Italy incorporated those "strong and youthful" nations of which we have already spoken (p. 405), if we may thus use the word nation in its older sense of "tribe". So the Italic idea of the *natio* persisted and developed; by the extension of the Italian boundary to the Alps, the *geographical* condition of a territory was fulfilled, and the *linguistic* and *religious* conditions, neither of them absolutely essential, were also substantially fulfilled at the close of the Republic; Augustus, it seems, intended or at least hoped to see fulfilled, and would gladly have taken the initial step to bring about the fulfilment of, the *political* condition. Even there Rome was, in the last resort, mistress, and Italy was politically united in the sense that all the inhabitants, from the Alps to the straits of Messina, enjoyed the franchise even (49 B.C.) before the union of Cisalpine Gaul with the rest of the peninsula (42 B.C.) under the name *Italia*. To speak, as some have done, of a "United States" of Italy is misleading; but there is no question that Roman organization had created what might easily have

¹ In Livy, 2, 22, 7, and 8, 4, 12, used to denote the Latin league, cf. the anachronism of 2, 41, 6 (*socii et nomen Latinum*). Elsewhere we have *populi Latini*, *commune Latium*, *nomen Latium*. From *cognomen* and *agnomen* (cf. *ignominia*) *nomen* was misunderstood by the ancients as (*gnōmen*), and in fact there may have been a conflation of two originally distinct forms, one cognate with our English word *name* and the other cognate with *gnosco*. But the Indo-European bases of *gnosco*, *notus*, and *gigno*, *nascor*, *natus* were homophones (**ǵen̥h₂-* in both cases) and may have been originally one and the same word (cf. "know" in the sense of carnal knowledge).

² Augustus is said by Suetonius (*diu. Aug.*, 46) to have devised (though apparently unable to put into effect) a scheme by which the opinion of the country towns could be represented at the elections of Roman magistrates.

become a federation of all Italy, perhaps even a nation in the fullest sense. Wide of the mark as that other comparison, of early Italic civilizations with related dialects, is, yet there was developed a feeling of kinship and union strong enough as time went by to foster, as much from the opposition as under the leadership of Rome, the idea of confederacy that really culminated at the time of the Social War, when there was reached "the nearest approach to a Federal Union of the whole peninsula which Italy has ever beheld".¹ Rome was the great obstacle to this form of union. It was her part to conquer,

"tu regere imperio populos"

(the Italic tribes are surely included in that prophecy), even as it was the part first of the Etruscans and then of the Greeks to civilize the land of Italy,

"excudent alii spirantia mollius aere,"²

the two chief elements that contributed to the final picture of Roman Italy, namely, Hellenic culture and the Italic national concept.

6. ITALIC CONFEDERACIES

In previous chapters we have had occasion to allude to the Etruscan, Lucanian, Messapian, and Oscan³ confederations of cities. The story of the encounters of Rome with these and other federations, and the application of the federal idea by Rome herself in Latium and in central Italy, is told in every Roman history and need be mentioned here only in the briefest manner. The last and greatest of them, as we have just noted, was really organized as part of a rebellion against the concentration of power in Rome, and by it the distinct Italic tribes were first welded together. Not only in Etruria proper, where the confederation of twelve cities is a commonplace in the ancient historians, but also among the Etruscans of Cisalpine Gaul and of Campania there are traditions of confederacies.

¹ Freeman, *History of Federal Government*, p. 586; and consult the entire chapter, *ibid.*, pp. 557-92.

² Verg., *Æn.*, 6, 847 ff.; *regere* is "direct, bring into line".

³ That is, for example, of the Sarnus valley.

That Etruscan league evidently was in large part religious; it has, in Freeman's words, "every appearance of being one of those political unions which grew out of an earlier religious amphyctyony," and once its political force was exhausted it reverted to its merely religious function. As for the Samnite league, despite our lack of detailed knowledge, there is good reason for believing that the Samnite cantons—the Caudini, Pentri, Hirpini, Caraceni, and Frentani—were united under a federal organization, and it is certain that the Samnites constantly acted as a confederacy in their wars with Rome. Dubious, too, as the Latin terminology is (see p. 407 above), historians concur in speaking of the thirty ancient cities of Latium as a "Latin league" and there are vestiges of other smaller leagues in ancient Latium (see p. 277). We need not, indeed, credit the legend that makes Servius Tullius the founder of the Latin league; and the date of the treaty made between Carthage and Rome, and recorded in Polybius by whom it is attributed to the year 508 B.C., is disputed, but not the fact of such a treaty, or the implications which it carries that Rome aspired to control a united Latium; while numerous other sources mention the thirty cities of Latium in such a way as to make it certain that they were a true federation, with regular religious and political meetings and, in times of war, a confederate dictator. In Rome itself the three primitive tribes (*tribus*, compare the Umbrian *trefu-* and the Keltic *treb*), if not the organization of the *curiæ* (compare the Volscian *toticu covehriu*, abl. sg.; and Umbrian *dequrier*, *tekuries*), have been interpreted, though this seems more than doubtful, as relics of a time when three distinct peoples occupied the site of Rome, united by a federal tie. What is not doubtful, however, is that again and again, during the long history of the Republic, Rome met war and turmoil¹ in Italy by applying the characteristic Italic solution, and organizing a federation first of neighbours and then of more distant tribes until she succeeded in reducing Italy within and in making Italy safe from further invasion without.

¹ The elaborate attempt of Ellsworth Huntington to explain the history of Republican Rome, and especially the social and economic conditions of Italy during that period, by changing climatic conditions is too fantastic to merit serious consideration.

7. ROMAN ITALY

Beginning with more elementary forms of unity in central Italy after the Latin and Samnite Wars, then securing control of the seas, mastering the peninsula both north and south, averting the peril of the Hannibalic war, weathering the Social war and more than one civil war, undaunted by the events of the terrible century before Augustus, the Romans at last emerged under his leadership in a new order which left both the city and an Italy that stretched from the Mediterranean and the straits of Messina to the summits of the Alps at peace. Finally the northern frontiers were established and made secure, and the Alpine tribes pacified. In Italy, as elsewhere, the Rome which in the past "had divided in order to conquer, now united in order to rule"; the nationalism of Augustus was still Roman rather than Italian, and Italy herself was now Roman rather than Italic.

This Roman Italy, with the stability it had now achieved for itself and for the Mediterranean world, was not merely the stage on which men might see played out their own new order. The new order marked the beginning of a fresh epoch that leads directly and with unbroken continuity to the evolution of our modern western society.¹ This "legacy" of Roman Italy, and of the Roman empire of which it was part, goes back to the alliance of Atlantic with Mediterranean lands that was brought about by the extension of the Roman frontier beyond the Alps and beyond the marchland of Provence.² Nothing so much as first the risk of invasion and then the actual invasion of the soil of Italy by the enemy, not of the Italic tribes but of Rome, made it necessary for the Romans, far from clearly as they may have realized it at the time and half unwillingly as they did it, to make Italy Roman and to make the western Mediterranean lands, including the islands, Roman provinces. There is a definite nexus between the final effect, the union and Romanization of Italy, which had to be made safe for Rome against Rome's most formidable opponent Carthage, and against any such possible subsequent invaders, and its somewhat distant cause, the invasion of Italy by the Carthaginians. The life-and-death struggle of Rome

¹ For this term see p. 399, n. 1 above.

² Cf. p. 16 above.

with Carthage, viewed in this way, was a prime factor in the development of Roman nationalism, through the stimulus which it gave to Rome in the subjection and ultimate union of the whole of Italy under her control; it was also a submerged rock on which ancient civilization¹ struck. The ship, however, was repaired, and was kept afloat for a long time by the masterful genius of Rome; and so the "legacy" was transmitted.

8. CONCLUSION

Having traced the foundations of Roman Italy, and taken a hasty glance at its place in the framework around which modern western Europe civilization has been constructed, we may not leave this study without considering the relationship between the present-day Italian state and the Roman Italy of Augustus. Comparisons have frequently been made between recent events on the one hand and the last years of the Roman republic and the opening years of the empire on the other. We read of "a present-day Caesar". But the similarities are more apparent than real. Clearly the enterprise of Romanizing the Italians has been undertaken anew, and it would seem, successfully; and it is impossible to overlook a certain ruthless and self-seeking element in the process which recalls the less enviable side of the character of Augustus. The northern frontier of Italy, too, is nearly identical again with the frontier of Augustan Italy along the summits of the Alps, closer to it in fact than it has been since the collapse of the Empire. But some of the comparisons that are made are superficial, or due even to conscious imitation. Augustus, as we have seen, did not create an Italian nation; on the other hand, "il duce," as he likes to be called, found an Italian nation ready to hand and had only to fan the latent spark of nationalism in order to make it burst into flame, while the appeal to youth, great

¹ This significance of the Hannibalic war in the evolution of western civilization has been seen most clearly by Toynbee, *A Study of History*, I, 1934, pp. 40 f., though it is difficult to accept all the implications of the full statement of his conclusion, and though he did not find it necessary for his purposes to emphasize also the significance of the Hannibalic war in leading to the union of Italy: "the historian of the Western society, in tracing its roots down into the past . . . will find it possible to follow . . . as far as the economic and social and political revolutions of the last two centuries B.C. into which the Græco-Roman world was thrown by the vast shock of the Hannibalic war," *et seq.*

as the inherent potentialities of the entire movement for good are, and, we must in honesty add, also, if misdirected, for evil, evidently is inspired by the *Inuentus* of Augustan times, itself perhaps Italic rather than Roman or Augustan in its springs.¹ There is a true analogy in the complete identification of the government and its policy with one man, even if as "pater patriæ" he claims rather to be an arbiter than a dictator in changing and diverting the spirit of a people. What the final contribution of Fascism to political practice and theory will be remains to be seen, and prophecy is dangerous. But beside the reinvocation of classical times that finds its outward expression in the celebration of the poets of the Imperial era and in the restoration of the *Ara Pacis* of Augustus, and beside the extraordinary and presumptuous language used in the Fascist profession of faith² and by the leaders of Fascism,³ which claim that Rome is to be not only the capital of Italy and the protector of the Church, but also an "imperial" capital of Europe and a source of "world-thought," there must also be acknowledged in the "totalitarian state" a definitely new departure in the political philosophy of government. It is claimed that the goal of the Italian mind is unity; we have seen that that claim is true at least of the ancient Roman and Italian mind. Roman Italy was the issue, as one organic whole, of a confused medley of peoples and confederations created by settlers from central Europe, from Asia Minor, and from Greece. Amid such diversity of origin, unification, which geographically was easily possible, became essential, with the result that instead of internal waste and weakness both internal and external strength might and did ensue.

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¹ Note in this connexion Livy, 9, 25, 4 (*principes inuentus*) with the Oscan (*Italic Dialects*, 1, no. 42) *vereia-* ("inuentus," Buecheler, see von Planta, II, p. 633), cf. the epithet of Jupiter, *verebasio-*. See also della Corte, *Inuentus*, 1924, pp. 8 ff.

² For example, the articles that read: "We believe in the universal mission of Rome for the salvation and greatness of human civilization," and "We believe in the fatality and prefixed return of the Roman empire".

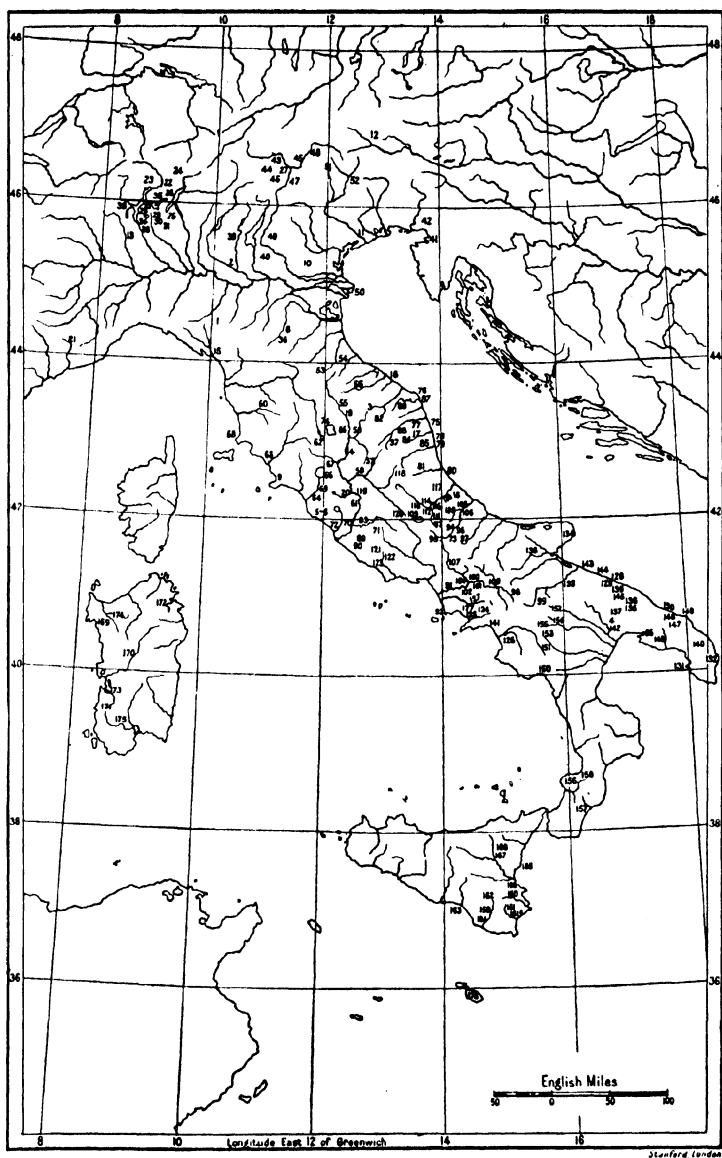
³ In the twentieth century "Italy will return for the third time to be the director of human civilization" (Mussolini, October 23, 1932).

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KEY TO MAP 8

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
1. Bismantova	55, 86	64. Corneto (Tarquinii)	211, 218	120. Camerata	292
2. Fontanella	55, 86	65. Perugia	206, 213	121. Velletri	292
3. Pianello	55, 86, 193	66. Bisenzio	213, 218	122. Caracupa	292
4. Tummari	55, 80, 312	67. Orvieto	221	123. Satricum	292
5. Allumiere	86	68. Populonia	213, 221	124. Striano, San Marzano, San Valentino	295
6. Tolfa	86	69. Vetralla	218	125. Pompeii	295
7. Novilara	48, 108, 204, 239, 241, 257	70. Vei	220	126. Pesto	299
8. Bologna	87	71. Praeneste	109, 220	127. Suessula	301
9. Marsiliana d'Albegna	98, 220	72. Caere	220	128. Bari	309
10. Este	103, 177, 178	73. Aufidena 241, 288, (San Francesco 287)		129. Ruvo	309
11. Oderzo (Piave)	103, 177	74. Cortona	221	130. Iasano (Gnathia)	309, 313
12. Gurina	103, 164	75. (Torre di Palma) Fermo	250	131. Callipolis	309
13. Novara	106, 154	76. Ancona	250	132. Hydruntum	309
14. Todi	106, 155, 194	77. Sant' Elpidio	250	133. Canosa	313, 318
15. Zignago (Magra)	106, 155	78. Cupra Marittima	250	134. Coppa della Nevigata (Gargano)	310, 312
16. Greccio	107, 242	79. Grottamare	250	135. Putignano	314
17. Belmonte Piceno	107, 246, 258	80. Atri	250	136. Turi	314
18. Fano	108, 202	81. Teramo	250	137. Giota del Colle	315
19. Gubbio	108, 194, 198	82. Fabriano	250, 256	138. Lucera	316
20. Città Castellana (Faleri)	110, 259	83. Rapagnano, Montegiorgio	250	139. Bitonto	316
21. Monte Bego	129	84. San Ginnesio, Penna San Giovanni	250	140. Ruggie	320
22. Giubiasco	133	85. Monterubbiano, Ripatran sone	250	141. Ripa del Corvo, Monte Corvino, Pietra Pertosa	326
23. Campaccio	133	86. Scoglio del Tonno (Taranto)	256, 309, 312	142. Matera	311, 327
24. Mesocco	133	87. Numana	250, 256	143. Barletta	311, 324, 327
25. Civiglio	133	88. Filottrano	256	144. Molfetta	324
26. Ossuccio	133	89. Castel Gandolfo	271	145. Ceglie (di Bari)	324
27. Vadena	137, 165	90. Grottaferrata	271	146. Ostuni	324
28. Malgesso	138	91. Capua	283, 296, 301	147. Ceglie Messapico	324
29. Moncucco, Villa Nessi	138	92. Cumae	283, 295	148. Oria	324
30. San Fermo	138	93. Palombara Sabina	271	149. Brindisi	324
31. Albate, Rebbio, Soldo	138, 151	94. Castel di Sangro	287	150. Monte Cervaro	327
32. Valtravaglia	138	95. Colle Ciglio, Barrea, Colle Santa Lucia, Civitella, Villetta	287	151. Pertosa	327
33. Sonoma, Gallarate	139	96. Capracotta (Bovianum Vetus)	287, 383	152. Potenza	328
34. Sesto Calende	140	97. Pietrabbondante	287	153. Diano	328
35. Davesco	145	98. Aeclanum	287	154. Anzi	328
36. Marzabotto	149, 188	99. Atella	287	155. Tricarico	328
37. Montefortino	149, 207, 256	100. Preto Sant'Angelo, Salv- atore Telesino	287	156. Monte Leone	338
38. Ornavasso	150	101. Bucciano, Moiano	287	157. Gerace (Canale, Iancina, Patariti)	338
39. Remedello Sotto	151	102. Saticula	287	158. Vibo Valentia	354
40. Povegliano Veronese	152, 178	103. Benevento	287	159. Comiso	356
41. Trieste, Nesazio	162, 163, 177	104. Caiata-Casazza	287	160. Pantalica (S.), I filporto	360
42. Santa Lucia	163	105. Lanciano	289	161. Tremenzano	360
43. Moritzing	165	106. Casoli	289	162. Fimocchito	360
44. Merlo, San Zeno	165	107. Allifae	289	163. Licodia Eubea (Mineo)	361
45. Collalto	165	108. Lama dei Pleigni, Palena	289	162. Gela	361
46. Dercolo	165	109. San Pelmo (Lucino)	292	166. Camerina	361
47. Cembra	165	110. Chieti	290	165. Catane	361
48. Seben	165	111. Sulmo	290	166. Sant' Aloe, Lentini	361, 363
49. Magrè	165	112. Pentima (Corfinum), Raiano, Castelvecchio Subequo	291	167. Centuripa	365
50. Conmaccio	175	113. Introdacqua, Pettorano	290	168. Adernò	365
51. Monte Pore	177	114. Vittorito, Molma	291	169. Anghelu Ruju	367
52. Pieve di Cadore	177	115. Roccasale	291	170. Abbasanta	370
53. Sarsina	192, 207	116. Goriano Sicoli	291	171. Guspini	370
54. Verucchio	192	117. Civitella Casanova	291	172. Olbia	375
55. Tifernum Tiberinum	192	118. Fano Sabino	291	173. Neapolis	375
56. Ifernum Metaurensis	192	119. Poggio Sommavilla, Magli- ano Sabino	291, 292	174. Logudoro	375
57. (Monte Leone di) Spoleto	193			175. Campidano	375
58. Terni	193, 205, 249			176. Hal Tarxien, Hal Safienii	376, 378
59. Assisi	194			177. Nola-Abella	385
60. Volterra	209, 221				
61. Narce	209				
62. Chusi	210, 221				
63. Vetulonia	210				

[Continued on p. 416]



MAP 8.—CHIEF SITES IN ITALY LATER THAN THE BRONZE AGE

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KEY TO MAP 8 (contd.)

Abbasanta	170	Filottrano	88	Pesto	126
Abella	177	Finocchito	161a	Pettorano	113
Adernò	168	Fontanella	2	Pianello	3
Aeclanum	98	Fucino	109	Piave	11
Albate	31	Gallarate	33	Pietrabbondante	97
Allifae	107	Gargano	134	Pietra Pertosa	141
Allumiere	5	Gela	163	Pieve di Cadore	52.
Ancona	76	Gerace	157	Poggio Sommavilla	119
Anghelu Ruju	169	Giosa del Colle	137	Pompei	125
Anzi	154	Giubiasco	22	Populonia	68
Assisi	59	Gnathia	130	Potenza	152
Atella	99	Gorano Siculi	116	Povegliano Veronese	40
Atri	80	Grecchio	16	Praeneste	71
Aufidena	73	Grottaferrata	90	Preto Sant' Angelo	100
Bari	128	Grottamare	79	Putignano	135
Barletta	143	Gubbio	19	Raiano	112
Barrea	95	Gurina	12	Rapagnano	83
Belmonte Piceno	17	Guspini	171	Rebbio	31
Benevento	103	Hal Safienti	176	Remedello Sotto	39
Bisenzio	66	Hal Tarxien	176	Ripa del Corvo	141
Bismantova	1	Hydruntum	132	Ripatransone	85
Bitonto	119	Ianchina	157	Roccacasale	115
Bologna	8	Introdacqua	113	Rugge	140
Bovianum Vetus	96	Lama dei Peligni	108	Ruvo	129
Brindisi	149	Lanciano	105	Salvatore Telesino	100
Bucciano	101	Lentini	166	San Fermo	30
Caere	72	Licodia Eubea	162	San Francesco	73
Caiastra-Caiazzo	104	Logudoru	174	San Ginesio	84
Callipolis	131	Lucera	138	San Marzano	124
Camerata	120	Magliano Sabino	119	San Pelino	109
Camerina	164	Magra	15	San Valentino	124
Campaccio	23	Magrè	49	San Zeno	166
Campidano	175	Malgesso	28	Sant' Aloe	44
Canale	157	Marsiliana d'Albegna	9	Sant' Elpidio	77
Canosa	133	Marzabotto	36	Santa Lucia	42
Capracotta	96	Matera	142	Sarsina	53
Capua	91	Meclo	44	Saticula	102
Caracupa	122	Mesocco	24	Satricum	123
Casoli	106	Mineo	162	Scoglio del Tonno	86
Castel di Sangro	94	Moiانو	101	Seben	48
Castel Gandolfo	98	Molfetta	144	Sesto Calende	34
Castelvecchio Subequo	112	Moline	114	Soldo	31
Catane	165	Monucco	29	Somma	33
Ceglie di Bari	145	Monte Bego	21	Spoletto	57
Ceglie Messapico	147	Monte Cervaro	150	Striano	124
Cembra, Val di	47	Monte Corvino	141	Suessula	127
Centurpa	167	Montefortino	37	Sulmo	111
Chieti	110	Montegiorgio	83	Taranto	86
Chiusi	62	Monte Leone (Calabria)	156	Tarquinii	61
Civiglio	25	Monteleone di Spoleto	57	Teramo	81
Civita Castellana	20	Monte Pore	51	Terni	58
Civitella	95	Monterubbiano	85	Timmari	4
Civitella Casanova	117	Moritzing	43	Tifernum Metaurens	56
Collalto	45	Narce	61	Tifernum Tiberinum	55
Colle Ciglio	95	Neapolis (Sardinia)	173	Todi	14
Colle Santa Lucia	95	Nesazio	41	Tolfa	6
Comiso	159	Nola	177	Torre di Palma	75
Commachio	50	Novara	13	Tremenzano	161
Coppa della Navigata	134	Novilara	7	Tricarico	155
Corfinum	112	Numana	87	Trieste	41
Corneto	64	Oderzo	11	Turi	136
Cortona	74	Olbia	172	Vadena	27
Cuma	92	Oria	148	Valtravaglia	32
Cupra Marittima	78	Ornavasso	38	Ven	70
Daveso	35	Orvieto	67	Velletri	121
Dercolo	46	Ossuccio	26	Verucchio	54
Diano	153	Ostuni	146	Vetralla	69
Este	10	Palena	108	Vetulonia	63
Fabrizio	82	Palombara Sabina	93	Vibo Valentia	158
Faleria	20	Pantalica	160	Villa Nessi	29
Fano	18	Patariti	157	Villetta	95
Fano Sabino	118	Penna San Giovanni	84	Vittorito	114
Fasano	130	Pentima	112	Volterra	60
Fermo	75	Pertosa	151	Zignago	15
Filipporto	160	Perugia	65		

¹ c. 3000 B.C. according to most authorities. Åberg has argued recently for a date of c. 2000 B.C. in central Europe.

CLIMATE	APPROXIMATE DATES			
Alpine Advances of Ice Mindel Riss Würm I (last glacial maximum) [Bühl or Würm II]			PALAEOLITHIC LATE MIDDLE EARLY	Chellean : Italy (not in Sicily) Acheulean : Italy (not in Sicily) Mousterian : Italy (caves of Upper Italy ; not in Sicily) Aurignacian (Grimaldi infants) : Italy and Sicily Tardenoisian : Sicily and Italy (rare in upper Italy)
Boreal type of climate		Northern Italy	Southern Italy and the Islands	
	3000 B.C.	NEOLITHIC ¹	Molfetta ; Stentinello	Anghelu Ruju (Sardinia)
Atlantic or Maritime Phase: warm and moist	(Diffusion of I. Eu. tongues begins c. 2500; in Italy c. 2000) 2000	CHALCOLITHIC: Remedello (bell-beakers)	Sicel I COPPER Castelluccio BRONZE I	Dolmen culture (Taranto, Sardinia, Malta)
Sub-boreal: warm and dry		BRONZE I (leaf-shaped daggers, flat celts) II (triangular daggers, flanged celts) III (violin-bow fibula) IV (socketed celts, swords with tang, leaf-shaped sword)	Sicel II BRONZE II Plemmirio ; Minoan settlements BRONZE III leaf-sword ; cremation BRONZE IV Finocchito	
Moist and cooler	1000	Terremare Transition to Iron (Planello, etc.)		
Sub-Atlantic: cold and wet		Alban and Forum graves IRON I Villanova II Benacci i Este i III Benacci ii Este ii IV Arnoaldi Este iii Cepitosa (525) La Tène (400) Este iv	Sicel III IRON	Torre Galli Canale
Cold wet climax		Roman	Greco-Sicel Greek colonies Syracuse 735 B.C. Punic	Roman

INDEX

See also pp 50, 416, and Table of Contents

- "ABORIGINES," 44, 122, 266 f.
asar, "deus," 196, 337.
 Agriculture, 30, 35, 39, 41, 69, 75, 118, 157, 273, 325, 342.
 Alphabet, "Chalcid-Etruscan," 96, 256, 292.
 — Etruscan, 181, 189, 214 n. 2, 224, 230, 292.
 — Latin, 275
 "Alpine" race, 27, 44, 52.
 Ambarvalia, 200, 388.
 Amber, 71, 77, 84, 90 f., 136, 204, 249 f.
Ambrones, 105.
 Andes, 182.
 Animals, domesticated, 57, 69
ansa cilindro-retta, 78.
 Arboriculture, 23.
 Archæology, evidence of, 4
 Architecture, Etruscan, 217, 222, 234, 274 f.
Atellana, *fabula*, 280, 302, 390; cf. 304.
 Axe-shaped pendants, 249, 349, 378

 BALKANS, 60, 65, 78, 80, 92, 205, 253 f., 308, 310
 Baltic, 278 n. 1.
 "Banquet of the dead," see Grave furniture.
 Barrows, stone, 88, 311 f.
 "Beaked" handle, 79
 Bell-beakers, 61, 66.
 "Bilobate" handle, 78.
 Black clothing, 175, 323.
 — ware, see Mediterranean black ware
 Blazonry, 334.
 Bocchoris, see Bokenranef.
 Bokenranef, 92.
Bormia, 130, 145.
 Bosnia, 77, 78, 80, 203, 347.
 Bronze work, Corinthian, 314 f., 346 f.
 — Etruscan, 24.
 Bronze work, Villanovan, 90, 180.
bucchero, 216, 268, 296.
 Building materials, 29.

 CALENDAR, 233.
 Campagna, 16.
 Canusium, 318.
 Caste, 209, 235.
 Cave-dwellers, 58, 64.
 Celt, *coltello-ascia*, 71
 — flanged, 66, 76, 84.
 — flat, 66.
 — winged, 76.
 Chain ornament, 138, 205, 247, 289 f., 294, 344.
 Chamber tombs, 68, 81, 274, 290, 313, 341.
 Chariot, 91, 140, 156, 216, 222, 247.
 Chronology, 92, 416.
 Cippus Abellanus, 385.
 Circle-graves, Etruscan, 216.
 Cist, 88, 207, 289, 290.
 City-life, 28, 157, 192, 200.
 Coffin, stone, 313.
 — wood, 288, 353.
 Collective burial, 68, 313, 342, cf. 378.
 Comacines, 136 f., 163, 165, 203, 205, 249.
 Commachio, 175, 189; see also Spina.
 Commerce, see Trade-routes.
 Comparative method, 7
 Confederacies, 29, 188, 224, 252, 277, 323, 330, 403 ff., 408 f.
 Contracted burial, 58, 64.
 Copper, 24, 62, 65.
 Couvade, 376.
 Crescent-handle, 71, 77 f., 327.
 Cultural units, 41.

 DAGGERS, leaf-shaped, 66, 76, 294.
 — with tang, 66.
 — with vertical rib, 66.
 — triangular, 71, 76.

- Danubian culture, 92.
 Deforestation, 24, cf. 320 n. 1.
 Dialect, spread of, 193, 280 f.
 Disarticulation, 58, 64.
 Divination, 223, 373, 379.
 Dog, 41, 69, 76.
 "Dolio" burials, 213, 268 ff., 271 f.
 Ducetius, 361, 366 f.
 von Duhn, 184, 243 f., 291
- EARTH graves, 247.
 Earthquakes, 17 f.
 "East Italic," 107, 241, f., 256 f.
 Egyptian influence, 220.
 Engineering, Etruscan, 201, 222, cf. 192, 217.
 Environment, 12.
 Epitaphs, 302, 386.
 Equilibrium, historical, 12, 40.
 "Eteocretic," 113.
- fascēs*, 215 n. 1, 275.
Fauinus, 308 n. 1, cf. 311 (Daunians), 320 n. 1.
 Fayence, 293.
feluske?, 97, 226 n. 2, 227 with n. 1, 301 n. 1.
Fescennini uersus, 234.
 Fibulae, 83, 89, 137, 149. Apulian double-bow, 358; Certosa, 138, 180, 189, 247; disc, 293, 345; double-spiral, 151, 204, 254; "figure-of-eight," 254, foliated, 254, 345, four-fold spiral, 296, 344, La Tène, 192, 207; long-shanked, 180, 293; serpentine, 293, "two-eyed," 358; violin-bow, 71, 76.
 Figurines, 77, 144, 368, 373, 378.
 Filigree, silver, 212.
 Fishing, 57, 69.
Fisica, 386.
 Folk-memory, 120.
 Food, 31, 55, 57.
 Fordicidia, 233 n. 1.
 Formiæ, 18, 145.
- "GEOMETRICAL" flints, 61.
 Germanic, 103, 116, 118, 176, 278 n. 1, 321.
Graci, 299.
 Granulation, 216.
 Grave furniture, 63, 67, 288, 361.
- Greek dialects, western, 321.
 — language, 299.
 — modern, 334.
 Grenier, 85.
 Grimaldi type, 47, 52.
- HALSTATT, 179.
 Hannibalic war, 410 f., with 411 n. 1.
 Hatchet, 84.
 Hellenic civilization, 400 ff.
 Helmets, Corinthian, 251, 315 f.
 — Etruscan, 212.
 — Greek, 205.
 — Histrian, 205.
 — Picene, 163, 254.
 Heracleian tables, 333.
 Herbig, 108, 226 n. 3.
 Hercules, 305, 385.
 Histria, 78, 140, 163, 205 f., 256, 310 f.
 Horse, 91, 171.
 Horsemanship, 156, 166.
 Horticulture, 30.
 Human societies, 12, 28 ff., 398 n. 1.
 Hungary, 34, 77, 137.
 Hunting, 57, 75, 91, 166.
 Hut-dwellers, 60, 64, 78 f., 82, 88.
 Hut-urns, 212, 267 f.
- IGVINE, dialect, 186, 201; cf. 194.
 Illyrian, 103 f., 108, 111, 118, 162, 187, 196, 245, 257, 300, 309, 320 f., 328.
 Illyrians, 113, 175, 177, 196, 203, 253 ff., 266.
 Incubation, 373.
 Indo-European, 118.
 — defined, 101.
 Inhumation and cremation, contemporary, 210.
 Ionic art, 223, 247, 250.
iouila, 302, 334, 385.
 Iron, 24.
 Irrigation, 21, 38.
Italia, 1, 109 n. 3, 240, 247, 336 f.
 Italian, see Romance languages.
 Italic nationalism, 405 ff.
 "Italic," 109, 184, 245 f.
Italy, see *Italia*.
Iumo, 159 f., 170, 171, 233, 277 n. 3, 385 ff.
Iuones, 159 f., 187.
Iuuentus, 412.
 Ivories, 220.

- JEWELRY, Etruscan, 212 ff.
- KELTIC, 116.
- Knife, "olive-leaf," 84.
- Kretschmer, 102 n. 1, 104 n. 2, 105, 131 n. 1, 132, 203, 226 n. 3, 231.
- LABIOVELARS, voiced, 135.
- Ladin, see Romance languages.
- Lake-dwellings, 33, 69, 106.
- Language, evidence of, 4 f., 7, 277, 281.
- La Tène, 129, 149, 152.
- "Latian" black ware, see Mediterranean black ware.
- latifundia*, 17.
- Latin language, 261, 275 f., 277 f., 280 f.
- Latini*, 261.
- Latinian, 108, 262, 278.
- Lemnos, 102, 225, 229, 231.
- Lombardy, 20.
- MALARIA, 22, 27, 40, 333.
- matronæ*, 144, 159, 187; cf. *Iunones meddix*, 329, 385, 393.
- Mediterranean black ware, 270, 295, 311, cf. 180, 199, 268.
- "Mediterranean" climate, 32.
- Mediterranean languages, 102, 203, 231 f., 245, 276.
- "Mediterranean" Race, 27 f., 44, 48 f.
- "Megalithic" culture, 66.
- Megalithic monuments, 145, 368 ff., 372.
- Metallurgy, 30, 76.
- Migration, 17, 23, 26, 35 f., 45, 47, see also Nomads, *uer sacrum*.
- Moufflon, 317, 376, 378.
- Mycenæan objects, 82 f.
- natio*, 406.
- Nation, national units, 7 f., 40, 86, 184, 193, 400, 405 ff.
- Navigation, 38 f.
- Neanderthal type, 47, 265.
- Nomads, 17, 22, 30, 35; see also Migration, *uer sacrum*.
- Nomenclature, 112, 134 f., 155, 177, 234, 275, 321.
- "Nordic Race," 27, 44, 54.
- nt-*, 46, 259, 327, 353.
- nuraghi*, 63, 311 n. 1; see also Megalithic Monuments.
- oa*, 321; cf. also *-ua*.
- Obsidian, 58, 61.
- oleum, oliua*, see Olive.
- Olive, olive oil, 25, 129, 299 n. 1.
- Oriental civilization, in Etruria, 213 ff.
- Orientation, 58.
- Orsi, 338, 359 with n. 1.
- Orthography, Latin, 260, 304.
- Ossuary, biconical, 70, 74, 88.
- Villanovan, 80, 180, 211, cf. 178, 344 f., 346, 350 f.
- PALETTES, 138, 169.
- "Patavinity," 183.
- pecunia*, 16.
- "Pelasgians," 65, 122, 127.
- Peucetii, 24, 320, n. 1.
- φλύαξ, 391.
- Phœnicians, 214.
- Pigorini, 84.
- Pillar worship, 373, 378.
- pintadera*, 58.
- Piracy, 26, 39, 203, 255.
- Plough, 30.
- Po, R., 18.
- Population, density of, 13.
- Portraiture, 217.
- Pottery, 76, Apulian, 60, 66, 163, 205, 247, 251, 256, 309, "Arretine," 150, Attic, black-figured, 217, Attic, red-figured, 207, bichrome Sicilian, 66, "Chalcidian," 295, 297 f., Corinthian, 365, Daunian, 205; "feather pattern," 84, geometrical, 84, 88, 213, 218, 312, Greek, 180; incised punctured, 80, late Minoan, 82; polished, 80, 84, "proto-Corinthian," 217, 220, 247, 349, 379, red and black banded, 164, 180.
- Præ-Italic, defined, 101.
- Præneste, 45, 98, 214, 220 with n. 2, 233, 262, 276.
- Prospectors, 24.
- "Proto-Kelts" (Sergi), 107.
- Provence, 16, 410.
- Pythagoras, 333, 404.
- RACE, 27.
- Rætic, 104.
- Randall-MacIver, 84, 185, 243, 293.
- Rapier, "Mycenæan," 82.
- Rasenna*, 102, 189.
- Rasina, 187.

"Razor," 348.
 — quadrangular, 138, 212, 272, 283, 294.
 — semi-lunar, 88.
 Reclamation, 22.
regiones, Augustan, 42.
 Regium, 18 with n. 1, 187, 335.
 Rhone, R., 16.
 Rhythmical dialect texts, 388 with n. 4.
 Right-handedness, 46 n. 1.
 Rock engravings, 78, 129.
 — tombs, 68, 81, 341, 360.
Roma, 272
 Romance languages, 114, 167, 303 with
 n. 1, 329, 375
 Rome, place of in prehistoric Italy, 9,
 264 ff.
 — site of, 272 f

 SABINE dialect, 242 with n. 2, 280, 285 n. 1.
 Saffine dialects, 109, 195.
 Salt, 25.
satura, 304, 391.
 Saturium, 309, 391, cf. *satura*
 Satyrion, see Saturium.
 -se-, 127, 130.
 von Scala, 340
 Scarabs, 212, 216, 293, 344
scarnitura, 58.
 Sculpture, 145, 217, 223, 258.
sest, 63.
 "Sican" inscription, 112, n. 4.
 Sickle, 76.
 Siculo-Calabrian civilization, 340, 355.
 Sigunnai, 126.
 Situlæ, 165; Benvenuti, 180, Certosa,
 165, 181, 189, Sesto-Calende, 141.
sl-, *stl-* (*scl-*), 133, 329.
 Social life, 60, 92, 118, 323, 342.
 Speech, faculty of, 46.
 Spina, 123, 175, 189, see also Com-
 machio.
 Spiral decoration, 65, 80, 163
 -ss-, 46.
 Statuary, Etruscan, 217, 220, 223.
stl-, see *sl-*.
 Stone circles, 75, 139, 206, 290, cf. 288.
 Streets, 192; see also Town-planning.
 Swamps, 17, 273, 301 n. 2.
 Swords, 76, 137; "antennæ," 91, 179,
 212, 250; Apulian, 315; Halstatt,
 179, La Tène, 149 f.; Picene, 254,
 with T-hilt, 347 f.

TABLE furniture 76.
 Tabula Agnonensis, 383.
 — Bantina, 393.
 — Genuatium, 141.
 — Veleiatium, 142.
 Tabulæ Heracleæ, 333 f.
 Tattooing, 317, cf. 323.
templum, 73 with n. 1.
 Tergeste ("market"), 162.
 Terracottas, 220.
Terremare, 71, 165, 265.
tholos-tombs, 82.
 Ticino, 87, 132.
 Toponymy, 42, 130, 230, 234, 278 n. 1,
 332.
 Torque, 156, 349.
 Totems, 196, 240; see also *Italia*.
 Town-planning, 264
 Trade-routes, 16, 20, 25, 35, 65, 77, 90,
 132 f., 137, 143, 163, 247
 Tradition, 3, 120.
 Transportation, 30
 Trench graves, 216, 290, 313, 352.
 Tribal organization, 129, 200, cf. Con-
 federacies.
 Tropæum Alpium, 141.
Truddbi, *trulli* 29, 311 n. 1
 Tumuli, 216 f.
 Twin cities, 26, 31, 324.

 -ua, 166, 187.
uer sacrum, 110, 195, 286, 382; see also
 Migration, Nomads.
unum, see Wine.
Umbri, 105, 185, 193 ff.
 "Umbrian," 184
 -unno-, 130, 197

vaso a trottola, 150 f.
 — *a trozzella*, 319 f.
 Village settlements, 28, 64, 78 f., 82, 88,
 129, 264, 277, 284, 380.
 Vine, see Wine.
 Volcanic activity, 17 f.

 WEAVING, 69.
 Wine, *unum*, vine, 25, 30, 69, 129, 222,
 366.
 Wool, 25.

 "ZIRO" burials, see "dolio" burials.

